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THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,
FROM
THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY
TO
THE YEAR 1790.

☞ *The above Work, with the present Publication, by MR. ADOLPHUS, together form, in Five Volumes Octavo, a complete History of France, from the earliest Period to the Year 1802.*

THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM

THE YEAR 1790

TO

THE PEACE CONCLUDED AT AMIENS IN 1802.

By JOHN ADOLPHUS, Esq. F.S.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. II.



LONDON :

PRINTED FOR GEORGE KEARSLEY, FLEET-STREET ;

BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITE-FRIARS.

1803.



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CHAPTER XV.

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1794. **I**N the congratulations which the convention received from all quarters of the republic, and from several of the armies, on the overthrow of Robespierre, they were extolled for magnanimity, public spirit, and courage; and they were not less ready to receive, than the country was to bestow, these expressions of applause. The 27th of July, or, as they called it, *le neuf Thermidor*, was celebrated as one of the glorious days of the revolution, and particularly honourable to the members of the convention who had assisted in the defeat of the tyrant; but those who examined the transactions

transactions with more scrupulous attention perceived CH. XV.
 that it was only a conquest achieved by interested 1794.
 individuals, rendered desperate through fear, over a
 colleague who had grown too mighty, and who
 threatened many of them with immediate destruction.

The course of the debate proved that the system of
 terror was not to be attacked, but the personal terrors
 of a few deputies to be allayed; nay some of the ac-
 cusations against Robespierre were founded on his not
 having enforced to its greatest excess that odious
 system. Tallien and Freron had been the previous
 evening expelled the jacobin club, and they, with
 Cambon, Vadier, Billaud de Varennes, Collot d'Her-
 bois, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Legendre, were known
 to be expressly marked out as objects of the vengeance
 of Robespierre. None of these men could, with any
 appearance of justice, exclaim against the system of
 terror; and therefore their exertions were characterised
 only by fear, and their accusations were ridiculous,
 incongruous, and such as could be advanced only by
 men who saw that their last appeal would be violence,
 and their only resource, if vanquished, patience.

Vadier charged Robespierre with having protected
 Catherine Th eos, calling the report respecting her a
 ridiculous mystical farce; while it could be proved that
 this poor fanatic had a correspondence with Bergasse,
 the duchess of Bourbon, and Mr. Pitt. On this
 subject, reason and humanity were undoubtedly on
 the side of the dictator.

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Cambon complained of nothing but the just contempt expressed by Robespierre for his financial calculations. Barrere, Tallien, and the rest, did not blame him for leading the committees and the convention into atrocious and destructive measures, but for calumniating those bodies in their energetic and revolutionary career.

The charges against St. Just, Le Bas, Dumás, and the other adherents of the dictator, were of a similar nature: Tallien alone ventured to intimate disapprobation of the proceedings of the revolutionary tribunal; but he speedily retrieved his character by exclaiming, “not that I mean to be considered a *modéré*; I require only that the president of the revolutionary tribunal should treat the prisoners with decency.” He did not object to the law which daily sent three or four score persons unheard to the scaffold, but only to the want of politeness in their assassins*.

A strong proof of the total indifference of the vanquishers of Robespierre to all but their own personal concerns, is, that nearly sixty victims were on their road to the place of execution during the conflict of the parties: the guard was called away by Henriot, yet no member of the convention, no individual in the whole city, had the courage to demand a reprieve for these unhappy victims; the opponents of the dictator required no relaxation of the laws of

* See Prud'homme, vol. VI. p. 470.

blood, and the people justly imagined that either party gaining the victory would, most probably, make humanity a crime*.

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Yet those consequences which could not be confidently expected, immediately resulted from the fall of Robespierre. No one of his assailants was sufficiently strong or popular to occupy the pre-eminence from which he had been expelled, and no party had sufficient confidence in any leader to join their efforts for his elevation to so dangerous an ascendancy. After the contest, the popular sentiment was strongly expressed in favour of the prisoners, and, by evident implication, against the laws which occasioned their immense increase; and the division of the committee of public safety rendered it impossible to furnish, at the moment, a sufficient weight of talent or authority to suppress the effect of that sentiment.

The division of the committee of public safety was also attended with another unforeseen consequence. During the struggle between Robespierre and his late fervent adherents, the small remnant of the Brissotines, who had been generally the most despised of mankind in the convention, who were frequently described by the contemptuous appellation of *toads of the marsh*, attempting to crawl up the sides of the mountain, became suddenly elevated into unexpected importance. Vadier, Tallien, and their faction, when they had

* Miss Williams's Letters, vol. III. p. 183.

thrown

CH. XV. 1794. thrown down the gauntlet against Robespierre, were seen traversing the *plain*, inlisting individuals in their cause by all the arts of intreaty and promise; while the dictator himself, in hopes of gaining their support, called to them in the name of virtue, and boasted the efforts he had used to prevent the assassination of their imprisoned friends*.

The members of the Plain, though they had reluctantly consented to form an alliance with their inveterate persecutors, soon began to find the beneficial results of their conduct in an increased political importance, and entertained hopes of resuming the preponderance of which their leaders had been fatally deprived on the 31st of May, 1793. They used every effort to augment the popular clamour for the return of humanity; they sought adherents by promising the prisoners a speedy melioration of their lot, and even that they should regain their liberty if unjustly detained. The people hailed these promises with expressive joy; and it was soon expected that every trace of the late horrors would be obliterated, and a more just and lenient system rise on the ruins.

Against these expectations, however, some obstacles still presented themselves; the men of blood were sufficiently powerful to create numerous alarms; and although the execution of Robespierre and his legislative adherents, and of Henriot and his accomplices,

* Prud'homme, vol. VI. p. 472.

without a trial, as men out of the law, was not cen- CH. XV.
 fured as an act of cruelty, considerable apprehensions 1794.
 were entertained when sixty, and subsequently twelve,
 members of the commune were, in like manner, sent
 to the scaffold; and many began to fear that the
 system of terror was not to be relinquished; but only
 the description of victims changed.

The members of the Plain succeeded, however, in
 obtaining the discharge of numerous prisoners, and,
 shortly after the fall of Robespierre, the cause of
 humanity seemed to acquire a triumph in the
 arrest of Fouquier Tainville, the execrable 1st Aug.
 public accuser. Yet the prisons were not thrown
 open without reserve; the laws of blood were not re-
 pealed; and while ten or a dozen prisoners were occa-
 sionally liberated in Paris, murders without trial were
 still perpetrated in Belgium, at l'Orient, and at Brest.
 The revolutionary tribunal at Paris, though its powers
 were considerably abridged, continued to condemn
 prisoners for *federalism*, and for *degrading the national*
representation; and the friends of the imprisoned
 deputies entertained serious alarms lest the promises
 made to them by the jacobins in opposition to Robes-
 pierre should be retracted, and attempts to enforce
 them considered as a new crime. Many hints and
 threats were uttered which tended to confirm these
 suspicions: the jacobin club renewed its sittings;
 Collot d'Herbois declared that the jacobins of the
 27th of July were not the old faithful jacobins, and
 these

CH. XV. these were invited to resume their ancient lustre; and
 1794. Billaud de Varennes more explicitly declared that the
 lion would speedily be roused, and that his awaking
 would be terrible*.

In all probability the remnant of Brissotines would again have sunk under the audacity and activity of their enemies in the convention, who already apprehended the effects of a scrutiny into their conduct, and the responsibility to which they were liable; but means were found to interest the public indirectly in their behalf. Under pretence of unveiling the horrors of the prisons, many publications began to decry the system which had occasioned those calamitous scenes, and to extol the magnanimity, wisdom, and even the innocence, of the Brissotines. The members of the Mountain party expressed some indignation at these

13th Aug. appeals, and appeared to menace restraint or vengeance, when Freron, in an able speech, interested the convention in favour of the liberty of the press. This versatile deputy, a sower of sedition in the early days of the revolution, a terrorist from the first sitting of the convention, one of the missionary assassins at Toulon, and an opponent of Robespierre only through personal fear, now found it necessary to establish a reputation, and, as the advocate of the popular societies, implored a decree, authorising the unrestrained freedom of the press, as the only means

* Prud'homme, vol. VI. p. 479, et seq.

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of securing the republic against the annihilation of liberty, and destruction of the national representation. CH. XV.
1794.

He extolled all the great revolutions, particularly that of the 31st of May, 1793, ascribing them entirely to the freedom of the press, and decried the tyranny of Robespierre as derived entirely from his having been able to fetter the right of publication; not by a direct declaration that printing was forbidden, but by making the guillotine fall on the neck of every man who availed himself of his right.

Other arguments of the same kind, calculated to please all parties, and intermixed with recommendations of mercy and reform, produced the desired effect; publications in favour of the Brissotines multiplied, the sanguinary jacobins grew daily in greater disrepute, and the orator himself formed the centre of a knot of young men associated for the purpose of repressing the exertions of any society to attain a dangerous ascendancy, and who were called *la Jeunesse de Freron*. They shewed a persecuting spirit against the late persecutors, and were distinguished by vociferating a song called *Le Reveil du Peuple*, which, in miserable poetry, to a dull tune, exhorted the people "to restore to the monsters of the infernal regions all the drinkers of human blood." The public walks and the theatres were frequently disturbed by contentions between the singers of *Le Reveil du Peuple* and those untameable jacobins who persisted

CH. XV. persisted in their old song called the Marseillois
 1794. hymn*.

The two divisions of men of blood had frequently contended for power in the legislature since the fall of their ancient patron; the Thermidorians, led by Tallien, Fréron, Legendre, and some others of that class, generally gaining the advantage over Billaud de Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Vadier, the ancient confidants, though temporary enemies, of Robespierre, and David, his firm friend, who never ceased his idolatry to the system of blood. These men, perceiving that, whatever party gained the ascendancy, they must be ruined, unless they could be enabled to retain their accustomed power and persevere in their old course of terror, had already ventured to demand a revival of the system, and insidiously attempted to prevent the exertions of deputies on behalf of the prisoners, by moving for a printed list of the individuals discharged, accompanied with the names of those who had interceded for their liberation; but these efforts having failed, the Thermidorians filled up the vacancies in the committees of government with persons agreeable to themselves.

Several denunciations of individuals connected with Robespierre were heard, though not for the present attended with effect. Lavicomterie, Jagot, and David, were attacked; but as every one perceived that they

* Histoires; Miss Williams's Letters, vol. IV.

were victims of small importance, while Collot CH. XV.
 d'Herbois, and the other atrocious preconsuls, could 1794.
 retain their seats in quiet, their apologies were re-
 ceived with derision, and they were dismissed with
 contempt. General Rossignol was, however, arrested
 about the same time with Fouquier Tainville ; and one
 Heron, an agent of the late committees of govern-
 ment, accompanied them in their confinement.

A measure which portended more danger to the
 phalanx of terrorists was the arrest of Joseph Lebon,
 whose cruelties in Arras and that neighbourhood,
 mixed with frightful and detestable circumstances of
 lust, atheism, and every species of profligacy, rendered
 him the horror of the whole department. His corre-
 spondence with Robespierre, discovered after the death
 of that tyrant, furnished sufficient grounds of accusa-
 tion, and they were increased by a deputation from
 Cambray. He defended, but did not deny any of the
 atrocities imputed to him, and, being loaded with
 reproaches and execrations from all parts of the con-
 vention, was committed to prison, without a word
 being offered in his behalf.

Encouraged by these proceedings, Lecointre of
 Versailles presented a long denunciation against Billaud
 de Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, Vadier,
 Amar, Vouland, and David. His accusations were
 comprised in twenty-six articles, in which, not content
 with imputing to them those cruelties and crimes of
 which they were notoriously guilty, he charged them
 with

CH. XV. with many acts during the latter days of Robespierre
 1794. which the public considered as sufficiently virtuous to
 redeem in a general measure their former iniquities. The individuals accused possessed great influence in Paris; the clubs zealously espoused their cause; and 26th to 30th many who were adverse to the system of August. terror thought this proceeding far too rigorous: the convention was occupied four days in the discussion, and, each of the persons inculpated having made his defence, the charges were voted false and calumnious, and Lecointre, in a temporary disgrace, was obliged to resign the secretaryship of the legislature.

The blood-thirsty jacobins, elated with this triumph, obtained an order for placing the remains of Marat in the Pantheon, to the exclusion of Mirabeau*; and

* This ceremony was languidly performed, and attended only by a few desperate terrorists, and those public officers who were compelled to be present. Some raw recruits, intended for the armies, were also pressed into the service; but, upon the whole, the procession seemed gloomy and devoid of cordiality; the attendants marched with a hurried step, the municipal officers appeared ashamed of their situations, and the mob did not re-echo the songs and shouts which were vociferated by a few admirers of Marat. Every subsequent attempt to give permanence to his fame was ineffectual; his bust was hissed, when produced at the theatres; his memory reviled in many publications; and, at length, the convention, by a decree against premature apotheoses, removed him from the Pantheon, and enfranchised the country from the ignominy of continuing to adore so vicious and depraved a monster. See *Histoires; Crimes de Robespierre et de ses principaux Complices*, vol. III. p. 95.

they

they afterwards placed by his side the urns of Voltaire and Rousseau. CH. XV.
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The frustration of Lecointre's attempt raised the credit and courage of the terrorists. They again threatened, complained, preached their system, invented accusations, and procured addresses. They loudly proclaimed a counter-revolutionary conspiracy, accused the new race of *modérés* of a design to ruin the republic, and affirmed that the liberated prisoners, and those who had been relieved from confinement in their own houses, were combined in a plot to re-establish royalty. A short time before their triumph in the convention, the abbaye of St. Germain-des-prés, which had been converted into a manufactory of salt-petre, was burnt, together with a valuable library which had not been removed; and, at the time of their acquittal, the gunpowder manufactory at Grenelle blew up, occasioning great damage and destroying many lives. Collot d'Herbois and his associates did not hesitate to adduce these events in proof of their allegations, and reasoned on the subject with their accustomed virulence: Freron, however, succeeded in proving the fallacy of the charge; and the terrorists had the further mortification, on the renewal of the committee of public safety (which took place, according to law, on the 15th day of every month in the French calendar), to find Collot, Billaud, and Barrere, excluded,

20th Aug.

31st.

1st Sept.

CH. XV. cluded, and Dumas, Merlin of Douai, and Fourcroy,
 1794. seated in their stead.

The secret of manufacturing addresses in the jacobin club, and getting them returned with signatures from the departments, was disclosed, and correspondence read in the convention, proving the agency of these men, and their subalterns in scenes of blood, not authorized by the committees or sanctioned by law. Finally, Legendre, the butcher, a man well acquainted with all their secrets, renewed the accusation of Lecointre, introducing it by a speech of considerable force, and obtained a decree referring to the committees to make a report on the same seven deputies whom Lecointre had assailed in vain.

10th Sept. The terrorists, enraged beyond the bounds of patience or discretion, made an attempt to assassinate Tallien; but as they failed in depriving him of life, the attack tended only to confound their faction. A secret committee of their most violent members, headed by one Babœuf, who had assumed the name of Gracchus, issued from a cellar, whither they had conveyed a printing-press, daily libellous invectives; and the incendiary speeches of Collot d'Herbois and Billaud de Varennes, and the various movements of the party, indicated an intended insurrection; when Bentabolle complained to the legislature of the manner in which Billaud spoke of their conduct and decrees at the club. The undaunted culprit exculpated himself with great audacity, and was defended

fended by many of the mountain party, though others of the same band, and particularly Legendre, supported the accusation with great vigour. The jacobins were, however, daily losing ground; the committees of government, no longer composed of their friends, were directed to present a plan for the *epuration* of the society; and soon afterwards a decree was passed, forbidding all correspondences and affiliations with the parent club. This vigorous law rendered this formidable association almost harmless; the departments could no longer be influenced by prepared manœuvres, nor the legislature embarrassed by numerous petitions, apparently indicating a similar impulse in all parts of the republic, though in fact manufactured by a small and secret committee in the capital.

The terrorists, though disarmed of their greatest power, were not divested of considerable resources in the capital, and their rage threatened violent extremities, when large bodies of *la Jeunesse de Freron*, assembling at the coffee-houses in the Palais-royal, rushed suddenly towards the hall of the jacobins, crying, "Down with the jacobins! No more jacobins! The convention is sufficient to save the republic!" With these exclamations they forced the doors, demolished the windows, overturned the seats and tables, cudgelled the men and whipped the women, and finally dispersed the society. The jacobin members of the legislature made clamorous complaints, calling

CH. XV.
1794.

18th Oct.

CH. XV. calling the transaction an affaffination, a massacre
 1794. equal to those in La Vendée; but the majority of the convention answered their lamentations with scoffs and derision. Rewbell completed their overthrow by reciting, at length, the circumstances of the riot, and exposed the crimes of the club in an indignant and just apostrophe. "Where," he exclaimed, "was tyranny organised?—at the jacobins.—Where were its supporters and satellites collected?—at the jacobins.—Who covered France with mourning?—the jacobins.—Who reduced whole families to despair, thronged the republic with bastilles, and rendered the republican system so odious, that a slave loaded with chains would not have exchanged his condition with a Frenchman?—the jacobins.—Who are they who long to restore the detestable system under which we have lived?—the jacobins.—If you have not sufficient courage at this moment to assume a decisive resolution, you will have no republic, because you will still have the jacobins." The report of the committees being immediately brought up, the convention, on their recommendation, decreed the provisional shutting of the club: and thus this mother of crimes, this nurse of monsters, this society famous for its antipathy to, and zealous efforts in destroying or corrupting, all society, terminated its formal existence, persecuted at last by those who had received their political birth, education, and name, from it alone; destroyed by the exertions of Freron, Tallien, Legendre, and Rewbell.

The

The partisans of the system of terror, deprived of CH. XV.
 their principal support, were soon taught to tremble 1794.
 for their safety by the fate of Carrier, who had covered
 La Vendée and the neighbouring departments with
 blood, and who had rendered the cup of death ad-
 ditionally bitter by his licentious invectives and ob-
 scene execrations, from the hearing of which no age
 or sex was exempt. Among the captives set at liberty
 after the death of Robespierre were ninety-four in-
 habitants of Nantes, who had been forwarded to
 Fouquier Tainville by Carrier, charged in the usual
 vaguemanner with favouring the progress of federalism,
 and who were intended for speedy execution. When
 these persons had obtained their freedom, they were
 encouraged to inform against their persecutors, and
 for the space of three months new facts of increasing
 horror and atrocity continued to be disclosed.

The convention, at length, decreed that 29th Oct.

Carrier and his accomplices should be brought to trial ;
 and, contrary to their practice in the case of Robes-
 pierre and his adherents, allowed them every delay
 provided by law for deputies in a state of accusation.
 The accomplices of Carrier were first impeached ; but
 the general indignation justly pointed out the futility
 of wreaking vengeance on these subordinate agents,
 while the great chief of assassins was left in triumphant
 impunity : the question was referred to a committee
 of twenty-one members of the convention ; and, in
 pursuance of their report, Carrier stood to be tried at

CH. XV. the bar of the revolutionary tribunal *. The horrible
 1794. facts disclosed against him, and a long train of his
 accessories who were included in the act of accusation,
 produced in the bosom of the audience every extreme
 of passion and sensation which such narratives are
 calculated to excite; but astonishment was less fixed
 on these atrocious facts, than on the atrocious im-
 pudence with which the culprit defended, and even
 gloried in, them. "I have extinguished," he said,
 "the torches of fanaticism, which were spreading con-
 flagration through several departments: but six
 months ago my brows were bound with well-earned
 laurels; now accusations are thundered against me!
 The convention, at the time, approved my acts, which
 had no motive but the welfare of my country. And
 those who accuse me, what would they have done in
 my place? Was it in the power of man—was it even
 in the power of the convention, to prevent the excesses
 which were committed at Lyons and at Toulon, in
 Aveyron and La Lozere, shaken as they were by the
 fury of political tempest? Yet I have terminated a
 terrible civil war, which with gigantic feet threatened
 to trample down the whole republic. I had sworn,
 with my hand spread on the altar of my country, to

* He had before been permitted to defend himself at the bar of the convention, which he did with great boldness. "If the whole assembly," he observed to his colleagues, "were to be examined with the same severity which is now exercised against me, nothing in the hall would be acquitted, except the president's bell and his great chairs."

save my country, and I have kept my oath. I have ^{CH. XV.} preserved Nantes to the republic: I calmly faced the ^{1794.} furnace of Scævola, the hemlock of Socrates, the death of Cicero, the sword of Cato, the scaffold of Sydney; I will endure their pains, if the good of the people requires it: I have lived only for my country, and for her I am ready to die."

Confident assertions and loud boasts could not, however, countervail the mass of evidence which was adduced; and Carrier, with Pinard and Grand-Maison, two of his principal satellites, ^{26th Nov.} was sent to the scaffold; the others were acquitted, though the facts against them were equally proved. Perhaps nothing in the conduct or fate of this wretch was more surprising than his confidence in affirming to the last his innocence, and even his merit. When going to the place of execution, he exclaimed, "I die a guiltless victim; I have done nothing but execute the orders of the committees of government; my last prayers are for the republic, and the welfare of my fellow-citizens*."

If the condemnation of these culprits gave general satisfaction, that sentiment was considerably abated by the acquittal of a great number of their most ferocious associates; an event which rendered indisputable the great power of the terrorists, and the influence which

* See histories; particularly that by deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XIII. p. 50; Prud'homme, vol. VI. p. 341; Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans, art. Carrier.

CH. XV. they still retained in the revolutionary tribunal. The
 1794. jacobins, prohibited from assembling in their hall, met, during the trial of Carrier, in the Quinze-vingts, hoping to excite an insurrection in the faux-bourg St. Antoine; but they were watched and repressed by government. The persons acquitted immediately repaired to the Palais-royal, hoping to receive congratulations, but they met only with expressions of horror and detestation; the committee of public safety broke those judges who had concurred in releasing these prisoners, and ordered them again to be taken in custody. Complaints against other ministers of vengeance were resolutely brought forward, and met much encouragement; particularly those against Maignet, an ex-priest, who had exhibited unusual ferocity at the village of Bedouin, and in the department of Vaucluse in general.

But although supported by a majority in the convention, and cheered by the general plaudits of the people, the enemies of the terrorists did not find their powers sufficiently extensive to guarantee them against fear: the activity of their opponents, the possibility of a revolution in the public mind, and the probability that the members of the plain in the convention would desert their cause, gave continual alarm, and at length produced an act of justice which had long been delayed and evaded. The seventy-three members imprisoned for subscribing the protest against the transactions of the 31st of May, 1793, were still in confinement,

finement, and their friends had no appeal in their favour but through the medium of the press, as the ruling party continued boasting of the event which caused their ruin as one of the glorious days of the revolution. Penieres had already moved that those under arrest should be enlarged, but, after an animated discussion, he could only obtain an order for referring their case to the committees. The alarm excited by the jacobins had probably some effect in the decision, though it was not immediately satisfactory to their hopes ; they were restored to liberty, but their right of voting suspended ; in a few days, however, they were reinstated in their seats, and soon afterwards resumed all their legislative functions, an event which had a powerful effect on the subsequent political transactions of France*.

Ch. XV.
1794.

22d Oct.

3d Dec.

8th Dec.

6th Jan.
1795.

* Debates and histories.

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La Vendée tranquillised by the Exertions and Arts of Hoche—Campaign in the Eastern Pyrenées—Battle of Ceret—Collioure, Port Vendre, St. Elmo, and Bellegarde, besieged by the French—The three former taken—Joy of the Convention—Bellegarde also taken, after a long Siege—Invasion of the Spanish Territory—Unexpected Resistance—The French burn Castella, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword—Death of Dugommier—Defeat of the Spaniards near Figuière—The Fort taken—Siege and Capture of Rosas—The French extend their Exactions throughout the Province of Catalonia—Campaign in the Western Pyrenées—Unsuccessful Attack on the French Lines—Various Skirmishes—The French prepare to invade Spain on this Side—Seize the Passes of the Valley of Baztan—Are attacked by the Spaniards—Error of the Spanish Cabinet—Recal of Don Ventura Caro—The French attack the Camp of the Emigrants—Miserable State of the Spanish Army—The French seize the Valley of Baztan—Treat the fugitive Inhabitants as Emigrants—Vera, Lefaca, and the Valley of Lerins, taken—After several other Successes, the French also take Fontarabia, Saint Sebastian, Tolosa, and the Province of Guipuscoa—Their Tyranny and Rapacity—They capture the Valley of Roncevalles
 —Siege

—Siege of Pampeluna formed—Battle for Relief of the Place—The Spaniards defeated—The French obliged by their Necessities to retire into Winter Quarters—Campaign of the Armies of the Alps and Italy—The French violate the Neutrality of the Genoese Territory—take Oneglia—Terror of the Inhabitants—The French capture Little Saint Bernard—Mount Genis and the Valley of Stura also taken—The French desist for the present from further Enterprizes—Progress of the Campaign in Flanders—Nieuport taken by Moreau—His Humanity to the Hanoverians—Cadsand taken—Proclamation of the Stadtholder—Levy of one Man in ten ordered by the States, but resisted by the People—Siege of Sluys begun—Recapture of Quesnoy—Pichegru anxious to besiege Breda—Surrender of Condé and Valenciennes—The Duke of York retreats beyond Bois-le-duc—Surrender of Sluys—Attack of the Posts on the Dommel—The Duke of York crosses the Meuse—General Clerfaye defeated near Ruremonde—The Imperialists cross the Rhine—The French take Cologne and Bonn—Prevalence of the French Faction in Holland—The French capture Crevecœur and Bois-le-duc—Nimeguen—Venloo—Maestricht—Coblentz, and Rheinfeld—The two Armies fatigued—Breda and Grave taken—The Duke of York returns to England—Intense Frost—The French take Bommel—Cross the Waal on the Ice—Are driven back—Again begin to cross—Momentary Thaw—Occasions a Defeat of the Allies near Eldermasen—The French cross the Waal in greater Numbers

Numbers—Defeat the Allies near Lent—Take Buren, Culembourg, and Gorcum—The Stadtholder retires from Holland—The British Troops evacuate the Province of Utrecht—which capitulates separately—Cruelty of the Dutch to the British Army—The French received in Amsterdam—and in many other capital Towns—Their Land Forces take Ships on the Zuyder Zee—Complete Subjugation of Holland—The British Troops evacuate the United States—and return to England—The King of Prussia makes Peace with France—View of Affairs in the West Indies—A Reinforcement sent to Guadaloupe—Character of Victor Hugues—The French take Fort Fleur d'Epée—The English retake Grande-terre—Siege of Fleur d'Epée—Unfortunate Attempt to storm—The British Troops retire to Basse-terre—Great Mortality—The French Forces daily increase—They land at Basse-terre—Take Ber-ville—Barbarous Massacre of the Royalists—Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis return to England—Evacuation of Guadaloupe by the English—Action between the Blanche and La Pique—Death of Captain Faulknor.

CR. XVI.

1794.

WHILE thus the system of terror was disavowed, and its most flagrant consequences were rapidly declining into hatred and disuse, the arms of the republic were triumphant in every quarter. Rebellion was suppressed in all parts, and hopes were entertained that, in consequence of a mild proclamation,

1st Dec.

clamation,

clamation, and the punishment of the oppressors of CH. XVI.
 La Vendée, together with some sacrifices made in 1794.
 favour of Charette, and some fraudulent promises in
 which he appeared to place confidence, that depart-
 ment would not again form the seat of rebellion, and
 the centre of hopes to the royalists. The war in this
 quarter of the republic had been of the most harassing
 kind; Charette, well acquainted with the country,
 and no longer encumbered with large bodies of
 cultivators, who were with difficulty restrained from
 returning to their abodes, kept the army of the re-
 public in continual anxiety for a whole year: his force
 amounted only to twelve thousand men; yet, such
 was the advantage of discipline and zeal over neglect
 and rashness, that the troops of his opponents were
 constantly baffled in their attempts to subdue him, and
 derided for affording him easy victories and numerous
 advantages.

After the fall of Robespierre, Hoche was released
 from prison, where he had been thrown in conse-
 quence of the dictator's jealousy*, and placed, instead
 of Rossignol, at the head of the army in La Vendée;
 he soon restored discipline to his forces, and by his
 artifice in treating, no less than his exertions in the
 field, promoted the peace, which guaranteed to the
 Vendéans freedom of worship, an exemption from re-

* See Vie de Lazare Hoche, vol. I.; Réponse de Carnot à
 Bailleul, p. 148.

quisitions,

CH. XVI. acquisitions, and even from taxes for a certain number
 1794. of years, and held out to them illufory promifes of repairing the devaftations committed by the republican troops, or by the ftill more fanguinary republican miffionaries*.

After the reconquest of Toulon, the troops employed in that expedition directed their exertions againft the Spaniards, whofe progress in the Pyrenées gave fo much alarm to the fouthern departments. General Dugommier commanded in the eastern divifion of thofe mountains, and was oppofed by the count de l'Union with the flower of the Spanifh force. The fuperior genius of the French general foon gave a decided fuperiority to the republican caufe. Bagnols was taken from the Spaniards by a feint; the French general employed great labour and expence in forming a road to the right of their army, but when he had drawn the attention of his adverfaries to that quarter, and they had weakened their other points in
 1ft May. order to provide for its defence, he fuddenly fell upon their centre, broke their line, and put the whole army to flight. This brilliant engagement received its name from the town of Ceret, near which it took place; the republicans gained from the Spaniards all their magazines, tents, camp equipage, two hundred pieces of cannon, and two thousand prifoners.

This fuccefs opened a way for the reconquest of

* Hiftoire, par deux Amis, vol. XIII. p. 187, et feq.

Collioure, port Vendre, and St. Elmo ; but for these CH. XVI.
1794. operations a flotilla was judged necessary, and while waiting for its equipment, general Augereau, by order of Dugommier, drove the Spaniards from Arles, Prats de Molo, and St. Laurent de Lacerda. When the flotilla arrived, the siege of Bellegarde was undertaken, at the same time with those of Collioure and Port Vendre ; Augereau obtained possession of the foundry of St. Laurent de la Monga, the only one in Catalonia, and acquired great quantities of bombs and balls ; and the sieges being pressed with additional vigour, the Spaniards began seriously to prepare for a retreat. They had sent off their most valuable effects by sea, before the arrival of the French flotilla ; and, in the night of the 25th of May, evacuated 25th May. the forts of St. Elmo, with the redoubts and posts adjacent to Collioure and port Vendre. The garrisons laid down their arms, accepting an humiliating capitulation, by which they were made to acknowledge the emigrants traitors to their country, and that the forts on the French territory had been gained only by treachery. The southern departments of France felt unbounded joy at this auspicious event ; and the convention decreed the erection of a column on the spot, with an inscription, “ *Here seven thousand Spaniards laid down their arms before the troops of the republic.*”

Notwithstanding these disasters, the Spaniards persevered in maintaining Bellegarde ; but that being
the

CH. XVI. the only position of the invaders on the territory of
 1794. France, the republicans were animated to redoubled
 exertions for the purpose of expelling them.
 13th Aug. The Spaniards having a 'powerful' force to
 relieve this town, a bloody engagement took place, in
 which they were defeated with the loss of two thousand
 five hundred killed, besides a great number of
 18th Sept. wounded and prisoners. The garrison, how-
 ever, held out a month longer ; Dugommier cautiously
 avoiding every measure which could damage this
 important frontier town. His prudence was rewarded
 with complete success : after a short correspondence,
 the Spanish commander surrendered at discretion ;
 the garrison, in number a thousand, were made
 prisoners of war, and the fortifications were in the
 highest state of improvement. The convention cele-
 brated this conquest by a public fête.

Dugommier now commenced an invasion of the
 Spanish territory, but found himself opposed with
 more than usual obstinacy and unanimity. He strove
 to quell this fury of resistance by means of
 23d Oct. terror ; burning the town of Castella, grant-
 ing quarter to none, and putting all the inhabitants to
 the sword : but he did not long survive this
 18th Nov. exploit ; his camp was attacked in the night,
 and, while rallying his troops, he received his death
 from a shell which fell perpendicularly on his head :
 the French, however, repulsed the assailants. The
 general

general was greatly regretted by his soldiers, and the convention decreed that his name should be inscribed in the Pantheon.

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1794.

General Perignon, his successor, immediately attacked the Spaniards, who were said to be between forty and fifty thousand in number, on strongly fortified mountains, in the neighbourhood of Figuiere, defeated them after a bloody engagement, took their artillery, forced an entrenched camp to which they had retreated, and compelled them to fly six or seven leagues from the field of battle. The fort of Figuiere was then invested, and, though garrisoned with ten thousand men, and abundantly victualled, held out only two days, the garrison yielding themselves prisoners of war.

20th Nov.

After several intermediate successes, the French proceeded to the siege of Rosas, which was formed amidst many difficulties, particularly those which arose from the advanced period of the year, the rain and snow filling the trenches, and compelling the besiegers to place their artillery on a hillock, from which they soon made a practicable breach in the walls. The garrison, fearing the town would be taken by assault, evacuated it in the night, and embarked on board vessels in the bay, leaving only five hundred men, who opened the gates as soon as their comrades were out of danger. The French now extended their requisitions throughout Catalonia, threatening

January,

1795.

CH. XVI. threatening alike the cities of Gironne on the river
 1794. Teriffe, and of Tortofa on the Ebro*.

The war in the Western Pyrenées was conducted with no less success: the mildness of the winter favouring the enterprising genius of the French, every day produced spirited skirmishes; their numbers were augmented by a reinforcement of eight thousand men, and they laboured with the greatest earnestness to strengthen their positions on the side of St. Jean de Luz, which they greatly extended, and in proportion straitened those of the Spaniards. At length
 5th Feb. the commanders of these troops attempted,
 1794. by a spirited attack, to free themselves from the neighbourhood of so restless an enemy. At the break of day a general assault was made by thirteen thousand infantry, seven hundred cavalry, and a numerous artillery, on the whole line from Calvaire to the Bidassoa, as well as on the Croix des Bouquets. The French, though at first thrown into some consternation, and exposed to great danger, rallied, and contested the day with great gallantry; some fault in generalship, and a want of vigour in some points of attack, were prejudicial to the assailants; and, after an arduous conflict of seven hours, the French retained all their posts, though the Spaniards retreated in good order. The French brigadier L'Espie-

* Journals, Gazettes, Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XIII. p. 204; Defadoards, vol. V. p. 393.

nasse particularly distinguished himself in this engagement; and the convention, in reward of his valour, elevated him to the rank of brigadier-general. CH XVI.
1794.

After this event, the French occupied themselves with additional earnestness in fortifying their positions; and, for a considerable time, the Spaniards gave them no interruption, except two feeble and unimportant attacks on the side of Hendaye. April and
May.

The French changed their generals twice in this interval, Dubouquet giving place to Delalain, and he being in turn superseded by Mauco. Neither of the generals who were displaced had many opportunities of evincing their military skill; but Mauco had the good fortune, shortly after his appointment, to repulse the Spaniards in an attack on the environs of St. Jean Pié de Port and Baygorry, while another expedition against the Biscayan Chasseurs was frustrated, partly by accidents, and partly by the celerity and vigour of these mountaineers. Mauco in return made a spirited, though unavailing, 8th May. attack on a work erected by the Spaniards on the banks of the river Irati.

But at this period the general success which crowned the French arms animated the soldiers on the Western Pyrenées to attempt hazardous exploits, and, too impatient to await the succour of fifteen battalions promised from La Vendée, they pressed, with irresistible earnestness,

CH. XVI. earnestness, Muller, who was advanced to be their
 1794. commander in chief, to lead them into the territory
 of Spain. Urged by their remonstrances, and au-
 thorised by the deputies on mission, the general di-
 vided his force into three portions, to penetrate
 through the valley of Baztan into that of Ronce-
 valles, and at the same time threaten Pampeluna.

In pursuance of this project, two thousand
 2d June. three hundred men, under brigadier-general
 Laviçtoire, moved towards Berdaritz; which they
 could only reach by passing over the mountains which
 form the sides of the valley of Baztan, or through
 the Aldudes, which were defended by the royal le-
 gion of emigrants, three hundred Aldudian chasseurs,
 and a redoubt, in which was a house with embrasures
 called la Casa Fuerte; these obstacles presented them-
 selves on the side of the valley of Berdaritz, while on
 that of the mountains all the resources of art were em-
 ployed in perfecting the strength bestowed by nature
 on the position, and the defence was entrusted to
 three hundred men of the regiment of Zamora. Fif-
 teen hundred of the French troops directed their
 march across the mountains, through a narrow and
 difficult passage, while eight hundred threatened the
 Aldudes through the strait. The Biscayans, with
 Laviçtoire at their head, having reached the moun-
 tain of Ourisca, pressed boldly forward; but their ar-
 dour was somewhat allayed by a violent discharge of
 musketry

musketry and grape-shot, which killed the general *. Cm. XVI.
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The French descending impetuously from the mountain, mixed pell-mell with the Biscayans, and by a spirited exertion, assisted by fortune, gained the redoubt; the Spaniards took shelter in the Casa Fuerte, but finding the cannon of the redoubt turned against them, surrendered at discretion: the number of prisoners was twenty-eight officers, and two hundred and forty privates.

Another column of two thousand men under general Lefranc attacked the Straits of Ipeguy, and though opposed by numerous difficulties, and two lines of redoubts, carried the point, having severely wounded the Spanish general, and killed and captured a hundred men.

A column of four thousand under general Suzamicq, was employed in keeping the Spaniards in alarm on the side of Altobiscar, while general Castelvort, at the head of fifteen hundred men, penetrated without opposition through the Strait of Mayo, which was not defended by any intrenchments. The Spaniards immediately abandoned the redoubt of Mortal, and the Strait of Arriet, while the French burned

* General La Victoire was by trade a tailor, but had formerly been a captain in a free company of Biscayans. On joining his troops, when he had received the command, he made them this characteristic address: "My friends, you need not doubt my fidelity to the cause of the republic, for it is no more than a twelve-month since I made your clothes." He was, however, a good officer, and much esteemed.

CH. XVI. the village of Aldudes, having thus gained the en-
 1794. trances of the valley of Baztan, and waited with in-
 creased impatience for the moment when they should
 be led into the territory of Spain.

23d June. Although considerably dispirited by this
 reverse of circumstances, the Spaniards made
 a vigorous attack on the French in their new quar-
 ters: eight thousand infantry and five hundred ca-
 valry descending rapidly from Vera, made themselves
 masters of the rock of Urrugna; but the republicans,
 speedily rallying, drove back the assailants with the
 loss of five hundred killed and wounded.

The king of Spain, contrary to the opinion of his
 excellent general don Ventura Caro, placed his
 principal hopes on the defence of the valley of Baz-
 tan, and sought to animate the inhabitants to exert
 themselves in his cause by a proclamation calling to
 mind the glorious achievements of their ancestors in
 defending their territory against Lewis XIV. Caro,
 distrusting the effect of this appeal, solicited and ob-
 tained his recal; and with him it is observed vanished
 all the appearances of spirit, enterprize, and resolu-
 tion, which the Spaniards had been hitherto enabled
 to display. General Urrutia, who commanded in
 the valley of Baztan, endeavoured to amuse the French
 by frequent movements, and exhibitions of a pre-
 tended force; but they, inattentive to these finesses,
 10th July. made a spirited attack on the camp of the
 emigrants on the mountain of Arquinzu,
 threw

threw the whole corps into confusion, killed a great number, wounded their leader, the marquis de St. Simon, in the loins, and took forty-nine prisoners, who were afterwards executed, or rather barbarously murdered.

The Spanish army in this quarter was reduced by repeated conflicts to less than twenty thousand effective men; luxury prevailed among the officers, want of discipline among the soldiers; the peasantry, who were actuated by a salutary horror of the French to recruit the ranks, were not animated by zeal for any cause; but as the fear of danger had driven them to the army, so the hope of safety impelled them to flight on every appearance of disaster. The French being, on the contrary, increased in numbers, and flushed with success, one division of their army rapidly obtained possession of the fertile and beautiful valley of Baztan, after a slight and ineffectual resistance on the part of the Spaniards.

Such was the terror of the inhabitants, that the French found it almost deserted; they declared the property of the fugitives subject to the laws respecting the property of emigrants, and employed commissioners to get in the harvest for the benefit of the republic.

The day following the invasion of the valley of Baztan, the centre of the French army, under general De la Borde, attacked the Spanish intrenchments, extending from Biriato to Vera,

CH. XVI. which were strongly fortified and valiantly defended ;
 1794. but the French surmounted every obstacle, forced the
 intrenchments, and captured Vera and Lefaca on the
 other side of the Bidassoa. After this suc-
 cess, four battalions took possession of the
 4th Aug. valley of Lerins, leading from Elizondo to St. Este-
 van, along the Bidassoa, while two other battalions
 gained the heights of Almandoz. The Spaniards
 left in St. Estevan only a few volunteers, who, on the
 approach of the French, blew up their powder ma-
 gazine, and fled by the Straits of Donna Maria.

27th July. Meanwhile general Moncey, quitting Eli-
 zondo at the head of six thousand men,
 joined general De la Borde ; and their united force
 amounting to twelve thousand, marched to
 30th. attack a Spanish camp on the mountain of
 Aya, which covered the rear of Irun : they reached
 their place of destination on the ensuing day, and,
 contrary to all expectation, the Spaniards precipi-
 tately retreated, without resistance. At the same time
 the French general Frégeville took a position deemed
 almost impregnable on the mountain of St. Michael,
 while general Dessenin crossing the Bidassoa, the Spa-
 niards fled in every direction, and the French became
 completely masters of the river. Irun fell into the
 power of the victors ; and Garreau, one of the depu-
 ties on mission, with a few troops, seizing the favour-
 able opportunity, summoned Fontarabia, which being
 incapable of defence, surrendered without delay,
 yielding

yielding up the castle of Figuières, which commands the harbour. In these enterprises the republicans took two thousand prisoners, with a vast quantity of ammunition and stores. The general next attacked St. Sebastian, and employed Latour d'Auvergne to arrange the capitulation, which was signed by the governor and alcaldes, to the great regret of the garrison, who complained of being betrayed: they were seventeen hundred in number, and made prisoners of war; all the shipping in the harbour was given up to the victors, who increased their booty by a general requisition, and by obliging the people to take assignats nearly at par.

The conquest of St. Sebastian facilitating the movements of the army, Fregeville advanced a portion of his force, which after a small contest of musketry entered Tolosa, the Spaniards falling back to Lecumberry. The provisional assembly of Guipuscoa, sensible of the perilous situation of the territory, met at Guetaria, and offered a capitulation, by which their province should be considered as a free and neutral state, and should not afford succours either to France or Spain. Pinet, the French deputy on mission, rejected this proposition with disdain, issued a decree for annulling the states, and the French troops took possession of Guetaria. The inhabitants were immediately made to feel the oppression of Gallic domination; a guillotine was erected in the new square of St. Sebastian, all the nobles, priests, and persons

of

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1794.

CH. XVI. of distinction in the province, were arrested, requisitions were rigidly enforced, the churches shut up, and the miserable inhabitants obliged to quit their homes and seek a refuge in the interior of Spain.

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27th. Pinet did not, however, relent in his savageness; but, on the contrary, directed the demolition by fire of Eybar, Ermua, Ondarroa, and Berritua, four of the most flourishing villages in the province of Biscay. These furious barbarities rendered him the horror and execration of the Spaniards, who compared him to the old man of the mountain: but they had soon the satisfaction to see the term of his mission expire; general Muller about the same time resigned the command, universally regretted, and was succeeded by general Moncey, who did not deviate from the steps of his predecessor. The army was shortly afterwards reinforced by fifteen new battalions, part of a corps which had fought under the unfortunate Custine.

It is stated as a capital error on the part of the Spaniards, that they retained possession of the valley of Roncesvalles, when the success and superior strength of the French army might have demonstrated the impossibility of defending it; but it is supposed they were tempted to this imprudence, by the hope of keeping the rich establishments of Euguy and Orbaïcet. The valley was occupied by twelve thousand men, and general Moncey formed a plan for surrounding them, and pushing forward to make an impetuous

impetuous attack on the ungarrisoned town of Pam- CH. XVI
 peluna. His project appears to have been 16th Oct. 1794.
 well conceived, but failed in its great ob-
 ject, from an unexpected vigour of resistance, and
 some mistakes by the commanders of different divi-
 sions. The Spaniards, though not surrounded, were
 defeated, and obliged to evacuate the valley, from
 which, however, they made a masterly retreat, burn-
 ing in their way the village of Burgueta, and part of
 the monastery of Roncevalles *. The loss of the
 Spaniards is estimated at fifteen hundred killed and
 prisoners; that of the French at no more than five
 hundred: the frontiers of Euguy and Orbaïcet were
 destroyed, and the victors gained fifty pieces of can-
 non, and a large quantity of provisions and forage.

After this indecisive encounter, they remained
 some time inactive, but at length prepared to attack
 Pampeluna, though they were not sufficiently pro-
 vided with requisites for a siege. As a preparatory
 measure, general Marbot assailed the Spa- 24th Nov.
 niards at all points, but met with an unex-
 pected resistance, which augured a defeat. Night closed

* It is impossible to pass over this scene without recollecting how famous the valley of Roncevalles was in the ancient histories and romances of Spain. In the monastery which was then destroyed, were deposited the club of Orlando, the hero of Ariosto's celebrated poem, and the slippers of archbishop Turpin, from whose legends that poet and many other romance writers derived their fictions.

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the engagement, and the Spaniards renewed the contest the next day under the most favourable auspices; but a battalion of Biscayans, detached from Zubiri, crossed the mountains, and took them in the rear; confusion and defeat ensued, more than six hundred Spaniards were left dead on the field; no quarter was given; and the few who were accidentally made prisoners were, in pursuance of a decree of the convention, murdered in cold blood*. The inhabitants of Pampeluna, anticipating the certain defeat of the republicans, had flocked out to behold the event; they returned in consternation and despair, expecting every hour to see their habitations invaded by these ferocious victors. The French were not, however, in a condition to pursue their success; their wants were multiplied and aggravated beyond endurance; they could not maintain their positions in the mountains; the roads were bad, the conveyances for provisions destroyed, and the soldiers, worn down with frequent fasting, and rendered unhealthy by drinking corrosive waters, naked and miserable, crowded the hospitals.

29th. At length the general, being authorized by the committee of public safety to follow the dictates of his own judgment, retreated to Tolosa,

* This fact is stated on the express authority of the French author of the History of this Campaign (p. 145): it is to be observed, that Robespierre had been dead four months when this barbarity was perpetrated.

and various other positions in the neighbourhood, where he established his winter quarters *.

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These events were viewed by the court of Madrid with sensations of consternation and alarm, commensurate to the satisfaction experienced by the republicans. Insurrections were raised in some parts of the kingdom; the cabinet was divided and indecisive; and rumours of a disposition to accept peace on any terms began to be circulated, though no certainty yet appeared of the real existence of such a resolution †.

The armies of the Alps and Italy had a career equally successful: the French being masters of the county of Nice, resolved to wrest from the king of Sardinia the city of Oneglia, the only port through which he could communicate with the English, or with the island of Sardinia; it served besides as a shelter for the privateers which intercepted the commerce of Marfeilles. The meditated exploit could not be effected without marching the army across a portion of the Genoese territory; the senate, anxious to preserve neutrality, refused permission, stating a well-founded apprehension that general de Vins would claim the same privilege for a body of Austrian troops, and thus render the neutral republic a scene

* Mémoires sur la dernière Guerre entre la France et l'Espagne, p. 71, to 152.

† Histoire, par deux Amis de la Liberté, vol. XIII. p. 214, et seq.; et par Defadoard, vol. V. p. 393.

CH. XVI. of warfare. The French, however, treated these
 1794. objections with contempt, and pursued their march, having first attempted to tranquillise or rather cajole the Genoese by a proclamation, affirming that the powers of Italy intended to seize Genoa for the purpose of conferring it on the king of Sardinia, abusing the English, and making delusive promises of friendship and protection to the people. They advanced without hesitation to the attack of the desired port, and having dislodged a body of troops posted 6th April, on the heights of St. Agatha, the Sardi-
 1794. nians in a panic abandoned Oneglia to its fate, and retired in disorder to the Straits of the Apennines. Such was the general terror excited by the ferocity of the French, that upwards of forty thousand people abandoned their dwellings, and the republicans passed through many villages in the fertile valley of Oneglia, where no human being was found, except a few women, children, and old men. The invaders seeing that it was their interest, in pursuit of their further projects, to remove these terrors, affected an extraordinary respect even for the most superstitious ceremonies of religion, and contrived to quiet alarm and inspire confidence.

24th. The Piedmontese, intrenched on the highest Alps, were now attacked throughout their whole line; general Bagdelonne advancing by Mount Valaisin, where he took three redoubts, after a march of three hours through the snow, captured Little St. Bernard,

Bernard, driving the Piedmontese into Aosta on the CH. XVI.
 river Doria. 1794.

The centre of the French army, as a pre-
 paratory step to the attack of Mount Cenis, 11th May.
 took fort Mirabouck, which opened an easy road to
 Pignerola, while a division of three thousand men,
 assembled at Briançon, advancing into the valleys of
 Bardouanche and Sezane, seized Oulx, mentioned
 by Cæsar in his Commentaries under the name of
 Ofcellum, and pressed forward to the walls of Exiles.
 General Bagdelonne having assembled all his troops
 at Modena, on the banks of the Are, put in
 execution his projected attack on Mount 22d.
 Cenis. The Piedmontese defended them-
 selves with unusual firmness, but were obliged to
 yield to the impetuous valour of the French, who
 charged them in all their strong holds with the
 bayonet, and drove them from the mountains, seiz-
 ing their superb train of artillery, their equipages,
 ammunition, and provisions: they established ad-
 vanced posts at Ferrierés and Novalèse, within two
 leagues of Suza; and the right commanded by general
 Vaubois, passing the Strait of l'Argentière, possessed
 themselves of the valley of Stura, and the post of Barri-
 cades, thus establishing a communication between the
 army of the Alps and that of Italy.

Thus at the period of Robespierre's overthrow the
 French were masters of the summits of the Alps, in
 all parts accessible to man, as well in Savoy as the
county

CH. XVI. county of Nice; but still it was not easy to penetrate
 1794. into Piedmont: if the attempt was made by the Col
 di Tende it would be necessary to take Coni or Suza,
 the difficulty of which enterprizes was well known,
 and the approaching season when the snow would be-
 gin to fall, forbad the undertaking of a long siege.
 If the essay was made by the Col d' Exiles, it would
 be no less hazardous and difficult; the republicans
 therefore determined to follow the line marked by
 the sea, in the road called the coast of Ponente, to
 seize the marquisate of Finale, though it belonged to
 the Genoese, and penetrate into the heart of Piedmont
 by Mont Ferrat. This passage, though apparently
 more eligible than the others, was not exempt from
 great difficulties; and the emperor of Germany having
 sent considerable reinforcements to the king of Sardi-
 nia, the French, though they made some progress
 in their enterprize, and obtained possession of Orméa
 on the Tanaro, and a few other less important
 places, found they could not penetrate into Piedmont
 during the present campaign, and contented them-
 selves with preserving their important conquests in
 the Alps*.

All these successes were crowned by the more bril-
 liant advantages which attended the armies of the
 North and Sambre and Meuse, acting conjointly
 against the allies in Flanders. During the career of

* From Desadeards, vol. V. p. 395.

victory already described, general Moreau captured the town of Nieuport, garrisoned by Hanoverians; and, like a generous and manly soldier, had the virtue to risk his life rather than tarnish his fame by putting in execution the savage decree of the convention: he did not, however, extend the same humanity to several hundred emigrants, who being found in the garrison were all inhumanly butchered. Shortly afterwards, he executed one of the boldest enterprises which distinguished the campaign: the French having resolved to besiege Sluys, it became necessary to gain possession of the island of Cadfand, at which there was no way of arriving, but by a causeway, inundated on both sides, and commanded by fourteen pieces of cannon, or by throwing a bridge over the Strait of Coschifche which he could not effect for want of pontoons. He had no resource but a few boats, in which some of the troops passed, while others swam across, and forming in the face of a superior force, and of numerous batteries, captured the island, with ninety pieces of cannon, a great quantity of ammunition and provision, and two hundred prisoners*.

18th July. } CH. XVI.
1794.

Alarm

* While Moreau was thus meriting the applauses of his country, he experienced only its savage ingratitude. His father belonged to the robe, and falling into the suspicious description of *noble*, was assassinated by the revolutionary tribunal on the very day his son captured

CH. XVI. Alarm and consternation now spread among all
 1794. } those who really felt a patriotic zeal to rescue their
 15th July. country from the horrors of French domination. The stadtholder had already appealed to the United States, in an energetic address, disclosing the just apprehensions which he entertained, invoking them to imitate the strenuous valour of their ancestors, in resisting the Spaniards, shewing the miserable consequences which must result from permitting themselves to be deluded by the arts of deceit, seduction, and corruption, which could alone render their situation desperate, and give desired advantages to the enemy, and exhorting all classes to co-operate in securing to themselves liberty, independence, and permanent happiness.

The rapid advances of the French induced the stadtholder to propose a levy of one man in ten throughout the provinces: the states approved the measure; but the people murmured against it, and shewed a general disposition to court the fraternity of France, a fraternity which offered gratification to many base and malignant passions, and for which the
 4th Aug. people had been assiduously prepared by French emissaries and agents. The stadtholder in vain tried the effect of another proclamation,

captured Sluys. It is even said that the general himself was marked for destruction by Robespierre; but the 27th of July ensured his safety. See Pichegru's Campaigns, pp. 73, 74.

soliciting,

soliciting, in terms still more earnest, the exertions of all persons in defence of their native land. CH. XVI.
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Meanwhile the French were eagerly employed in the siege of Sluys, which made a gallant resistance; they were encouraged, however, by the surrender of Quesnoy, which opened its gates ^{15th Aug.} after a spirited, though ineffectual, opposition*. The French commanders, eager to strike terror by means of the decree which had passed in the convention for giving no quarter, summoned the garrison before they were able to make any regular approaches; but the valiant commander would not submit to the infamy of such a surrender, and in his offer of capitulation, only solicited the usual terms for his brave followers, offering his own life as a sacrifice to the rage of the victors. The convention, under the new system, thought fit to renounce the sanguinary decree of the former government, and no blood was unnecessarily shed.

The duke of York, compelled to retreat before the superior forces of the French, marched to the plains of Breda, establishing his head-quarters at ^{4th and} Oosterhout, and taking so strong a position ^{5th Aug.} that he felt secure from an assault till the Dutch should have had time to put the garrison in a state of

* The surrender of Quesnoy was the first intelligence communicated to the committee of public safety by means of the telegraph, though the invention had been announced more than a twelve-month.

defence;

CH. XVI. defence; erected redoubts in the front of his camp, and had the satisfaction to see the town put in a formidable condition, and a large tract of the surrounding country inundated. Pichegru, though extremely anxious to besiege Breda, was prevented by many wants and unfavourable circumstances; he projected a joint operation with the army of the Sambre and Meuse to assist the movements of that of the Rhine, but found it impracticable, and was, for many days, obliged to limit his operations to a few affairs of posts, in which his troops suffered more than those of the allies. At length he was enabled, by the fall of Valenciennes and Condé, which yielded after a very slight resistance, to muster a hundred thousand men, with which he meditated an attack on the duke of York's army, reduced to about thirty-five thousand, intending to drive them beyond the Meuse, and prevent their junction with the Imperial forces. He drove in the British out-posts, with an intent to turn the left of the army, and cut off the retreat to Bois-le-duc; but the British commander, with great judgment and generalship, effected a timely retreat, and encamped on a large plain seven miles beyond Bois-le-duc, establishing his head-quarters at the village of Udden.

In this interval Sluys had surrendered, after enduring a vigorous siege, in which the French were also subjected to great inconveniences,

veniences, and a destructive mortality, from the nature CH. XVI.
 of their situation and the height of the tides. The 1794.
 besieging army, exhausted by fatigue and illness,
 could not immediately be employed; and as the batter-
 ing attillery was not arrived, Pichegru prosecuted his
 original plan of pursuing the duke of York, and
 leaving Breda till he should have made some im-
 pression on Holland. He made, however, a judicious
 feint of commencing the siege of that place, for the
 purpose of concealing the amount of his
 force, and on the 14th of September made 14th Sept.
 a general attack on all the out-posts along the
 Dommel, forcing that of Boxtel, which was chiefly
 protected by the troops of Hesse Darmstadt. In this
 affair the French behaved with extraordinary valour,
 swimming a river to the attack; and the allies lost
 upwards of fifteen hundred men.

As the capture of this important post would pre-
 vent the duke of York from maintaining 15th.
 his position, he directed lieutenant-general
 Abercromby to attempt its recovery; the general,
 however, discovering the real force of the French
 army, desisted from the enterprise, and the duke, who
 could not now muster twenty thousand men, having
 certain intelligence that he was to be attacked by
 eighty thousand, retreated across the Meuse, and en-
 camped at Wichen.

The French army of the North took a 19th.
 position behind the Aa, and on the ensuing

CH. XVI. day proceeded to Denter. The pursuit of the duke
 of York's army was for a time discontinued, as well
 on account of the fatigue of the French troops as for
 want of good maps; but the army of the Sambre and
 19th Sept. Meuse, agreeably to the orders of Pichegru,
 to 3d Oct. attacked and defeated the left wing of the
 Austrian army, and, after a series of well-contested
 engagements, in which the numbers of the republicans
 gave them a constant advantage, the Imperialists were
 compelled to cross the Rhine at Cologne, with the
 loss of near ten thousand men. The last battle was
 peculiarly bloody: general Clerfaye had chosen his
 position near Ruremonde with so much judgment,
 that the French appeared to be squandering lives with
 unavailing profusion; and their attack must have re-
 mained an everlasting monument of their rashness had
 the two wings of the Austrian army exhibited as
 much courage and discipline as the centre; but at the
 moment when Clerfaye was enjoying the prospect of
 complete success, destroying immense numbers of
 the enemy while his own troops sustained no injury,
 he was informed that his wings were forced, and was
 compelled to make a hasty, though orderly, retreat, to
 avoid being turned and overpowered. The French com-
 manders were so doubtful of the courage of their men
 in this tremendous assault, that they placed cannon to
 7th and fire on such as might fall back: they soon
 10th Oct. afterwards gained possession of Cologne and
 Bonn.

While

While the French were thus victorious in the field, CH. XVI.
1794. their partisans in Holland became additionally alert and insolent: their numbers daily increased: the states-general authorised the stadtholder to cut the dykes and inundate the country, should the enemy make further advances; but the people were taught to oppose and reprobate the plan as destructive of their lands and properties. This argument, which inculcated a preference of temporary advantage to permanent freedom, would not perhaps have been popular even in Holland, but a large portion of the natives, uninstructed by the horrible rapine which devastated and oppressed the inhabitants of Flanders*, looked to the French as friends and deliverers, who would rescue them from tyranny and taxation, and permit the poor, under the notion of fraternity, to plunder the opulent.

Crevecoeur having surrendered without firing a shot, though completely fortified, and in every respect fit to endure a siege, the French became masters of the inundations which constituted the principal strength of Bois-le-duc. They were, however, doubtful of the success of a siege, when the commander terminated their suspense by a voluntary 11th Oct. surrender, obtaining for his garrison permission to retire into Holland on parole. The Dutch had also

* See Pichegru's Campaign by David, chap. XV.

CH. XVI. abandoned fort St. André, but, being negligently oc-
 1794. cupied by the governor, it was retaken by lieutenant-
 general Abercromby, and proved a material impedi-
 ment to the further operations of the republicans.

17th. The duke of York established his head-
 quarters at Arnheim, and the French pre-
 pared to besiege Nimeguen: many skirmishes took

20th. place in front of this town, in one of which
 the republicans gained some advantage by
 dressing a corps in the uniform of the Rohan hussars,
 and thus deceiving a division of the allies; but the

4th Nov. British troops under major-general De Burgh
 made a spirited sortie from the town, and got
 temporary possession of the works of the besiegers,
 defeating them with great carnage. This event did

6th. not, however, avert, or even materially delay,
 the fate of the place: the French opened
 batteries on the town and bridge, which sunk several
 of the boats; and had the bridge been destroyed, the
 whole garrison must have been taken prisoners: the

7th. duke of York therefore ordered the garrison
 to escape across the bridge, leaving pickets
 under major-general De Burgh, who with great
 difficulty also effected a retreat: the Dutch

8th. garrison were taken prisoners. In the mean
 time general Laurent had made himself master of

5th Nov. Venloo, Kleber took Maestricht, Coblentz
 and Rheinfeld yielded to the right wing of
 the

the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and Mentz alone ^{CH. XVI.} remained in possession of the allies on the left bank of ^{1794.} the Rhine.

After the evacuation of Nimeguen, the British army went into cantonments along the Waal, and on the opposite side of the Lech: the weather was extremely severe, the troops sickly, and fatigued with the severe duty of maintaining a cordon of strong pickets along the Waal from Bommel on the right, where they joined the Dutch, to Parmeren on the left, where they communicated with the Austrians. The French were more fatigued, and had not fewer invalids, in proportion, than the allies; they were therefore obliged, after some unsuccessful at-
 tacks on the island of Bommel, to desist ^{12th Dec.} from further enterprises, and rest in their present advantageous position, relying, with a confidence which was justified by the event, on the evacuation of Breda and Grave * by the Dutch. About
 the same period the duke of York quitted ^{6th.}

* Grave was bravely defended for two months, from its first investment, by general De Bons, who did not surrender till quite destitute of ammunition and provision, although he saw Nimeguen taken, and all the armies which could relieve him driven beyond the Rhine. "If the stadtholder," says the historian of Pichegru's campaigns, "had placed men equally brave in all the fortresses, *our conquests might perhaps have been less rapid.*" This avowal fully confirms the fact, that the progress of the French was aided, if not chiefly caused, by the corruption and cowardice of the Dutch.

the

CR. XVI. the army, univerfally regretted, and proceeded to
 1794. England: the command devolved on general Wal-
 moden.

Pichegru, who had been fome time abfent from the army, on account of his health, now refumed the command; but the campaign might have been confidered at an end, had not a froft of uncommon feverity fet in, and enabled the French to gain new advantages. The Dutch government, which had relied on inundation as the laft means of defence, faw with alarm the impediment oppofed by the weather, and foli-cited peace; but the French, elated with the profpect of conqueft and plunder, and encouraged by the Gallo-democratic party in the country, rejected the terms, though replete with advantages, and refufed an armiftice, which was required for the purpose of negotiation. They took poffeffion of the ifland of

27th. Bommel and fort St. André; and, on the
 27th of December, fix hundred men crossed the river Waal, near Tuyl, the ice being fufficiently formed to bear whole regiments of cavalry, with the heaviest cannon. They gained the poft of Tiel, and

30th. were foon followed by a very large force; but a detachment of Britifh, Heflians, and emigrants, under general Dundas, attacked them with irrefiftible impetuofity, and forced them again to pafs the river, with great lofs of men, and four pieces of cannon.

Undifinayed by this check, and confiding in their
 fuperiority

superiority of numbers, a large body of French again crossed the Waal near Bommel. 4th Jan. CH. XVI.
1795. 1795.
 General Dundas, after a smart skirmish at Geldermalsen, fell back upon Beuren, and it was resolved to retreat still further, and take a position behind the Lech. 6th. A sudden thaw, however, renewed the hopes of the allies, and orders were issued for taking advantage of it by a combined attack: unfortunately, the frost recommenced 8th. with increased severity; the orders which had been given could not be retracted in time; and an action was fought near Eldermafen, in which the allied troops, particularly the British, suffered considerably, every officer in the 27th regiment of foot being wounded.

The republicans, having completed their arrangements, crossed the Waal in still greater 10th. force, and attacked several points at the same time: one column passed at Panneren, and another at Ghent, but were repulsed; a third crossed near Nimeguen, and, in conjunction with two columns which had passed between Tiel and Dodewaert, attacked the whole British line on that side. The Austrians had abandoned Heusden, and passed the Lech; and the Hanoverians, with general Coates's brigade, consisting of the 40th, 59th, and 79th regiments, were obliged to fall back on Lent: the French had all their troops on the opposite side of the river, and,
on

CH. XVI. on a signal given, they crossed in great numbers, and
 1795. attacked general Coates's brigade; the 40th and
 79th regiments were placed about half a mile in the
 rear, close to a wood, and the 59th was left to engage,
 and try to draw them into the ambuscade, but a strong
 column of the enemy forced their way between the
 59th and the main body: on their falling back on
 Lent, they found it in possession of the enemy, and, in
 consequence, retired across the Lingen, where they
 maintained themselves behind the river, near Elst.

The French obtained immediate possession of Buren
 and Culembourg, and prepared to besiege Gorcum*,
 which, from the strength of its works, and the facility
 of inundation, had been considered the key of
 Holland; it was the head-quarters of the stadtholder,
 but the frost rendering resistance impossible, he quitted
 the untenable fortress, and finding, from the ascen-
 dancy of his enemies, that his residence in the United
 States was no longer secure, abandoned that un-
 grateful country, which, forgetful of its debt of grati-
 tude to his family, and its duty as an independent
 state, was plunging, with blindfold confidence, into
 the most despicable and hopeless bondage. The
 stadtholder, and a great number of respectable natives

* The exultation and confidence of the French is whimsically and
 characteristically displayed by David. He says, "at this time, the
 redoubts of Tartarus would not have arrested the impetuosity of our
 troops, if the rivers of Hell had been frozen."

of Holland who preceded or accompanied him, CH. XVI.
 found a safe refuge and cheering welcome in 15th.
 England. 1795.

At the time when the French troops crossed the
 Waal, general Bonneau left the environs of Breda,
 and attacked Gertruydenburg: the British troops,
 finding themselves unable to maintain their position in
 the province of Utrecht, retreated towards
 Westphalia, after sustaining a severe attack all 14th.
 along their line from Arnheim to Amerongen.
 The province of Utrecht entered into a sepa- 15th.
 rate capitulation for itself, receiving the French with
 prostrate submission and eager welcome, while the
 retreating army of the British was treated with savage
 cruelty, the sick and wounded insulted, plundered,
 and even murdered by these worthless and ungrateful
 allies, in whose cause they had shed their blood and
 lost their health. The intense coldness of the winter
 increased the miseries of the retreating army, and
 produced scenes of distress which cannot be reflected
 on without horror and anguish.

A detail of the subsequent proceedings of the
 French would be little more than a geographical
 description of their passage through the United States,
 and a repetition of uniform acts of submission of the
 Dutch. Gertruydenberg having surrendered, the
 province of Holland followed the example of Utrecht,
 and the French were received in Amsterdam.

Bonneau's division, passing the lake of Bief-

20th.

boch,

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boch, took possession of Dordrecht, Rotterdam, the Hague and Helvoetsluys, and general Macdonald entered Naerden. The province of Zealand having also capitulated, the light troops, consisting chiefly of horse and artillery, marched into North Holland, and added to the wonders of the campaign the unprecedented circumstance of the taking a fleet at the entrance of the Zuyderzee, by land forces, and artillery planted on the ice.

Overyffel, Groningen, and Frizeland, were still in possession of the British army, but, diminished as they were in numbers, hostile as were the Dutch towards them, and immensely superior in force as were the French, their situation could not be long tenable; nor, perhaps, was it desirable, under such circumstances, to retain ground in such a country. A thaw having commenced, the depth of water rendered the passage by the usual route impracticable, and the French under Macdonald having taken a position be-

16th Feb. tween Campen, Zwoll, and Deventer, while Moreau occupied Zutcher, general Abercromby became apprehensive that, in case of an attack, his retreat would be cut off, and therefore withdrew his troops from the advanced posts, and marched to

24th. Bentheim by way of Enchede and Velthuyfen: the British head-quarters were moved first to

5th March. Osnaburgh, and afterwards to Diepholt, the republicans being every-where received, by

the decree of the new government of the United States,

States, as friends. The province of Westphalia was occupied by forty thousand Prussians, in order to protect their frontier along the Ems, while the British forces marched to Bremen, and thence to Bremerleehe, where they embarked for England, after surmounting toils and difficulties seldom equalled, with a valour, perseverance, and discipline, which were never surpassed*.

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Before this retreat was effected, a great, though not unexpected, alteration had taken place in the alliance against France. The king of Prussia had received a considerable subsidy from England, but was, at that very period, treating for peace. Barthelemy, the French ambassador in Switzerland, negotiated on behalf of the republic, and the baron de Hardenberg on that of Frederick-William; it had proceeded so far, that orders were transmitted on the 20th of March for the French to cease hostilities with the Prussians, and the articles were in a few days finally exchanged. This treaty was followed by another for limiting the operations of hostilities, and preserving the peace of the north of Germany; and thus the king of Prussia, the most ardent and zealous promoter of the war, was the first great power who seceded from the grand alliance †.

* In relating this campaign, I have consulted the anonymous history as far as it goes; Jones's Journal; and David's History of Pichegru's Campaign.

† See *Regne de Frederic-Guillaume II. par Ségur*, vol. III. pp. 221, 274, and 297; also the histories by Desadoards and by deux Amis de la Liberté.

These

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June, 1794. These signal successes in Europe were rendered additionally important to the French republic by the fortunate progress of their arms in the West Indies. The English, while relying with confident security on the certainty of their conquests, were surprised by the arrival at Guadaloupe of two frigates, two fifty-fours armed en flute, and two transports, containing about fourteen hundred troops. The command was given to a military officer under the superintendance of Victor Hugues, a deputy on mission, and the general dying soon afterwards, the sole command devolved on this ferocious monster. He came to the island with the usual instructions, and with a guillotine and proper implements of vengeance, and shewed himself eminently qualified to fulfil the views of his employers. Active and daring, he was seldom deterred by difficulties, or checked by the considerations which often suspend the projects of those gifted with the strongest spirit of enterprise and the greatest share of persevering courage. He never thought any effusion of blood too great a price for a victory, or considered the possible ultimate consequences of a plan, provided the immediate result was favourable. Curfed with a delight in carnage, he retained his ferocity and cruelty even under circumstances which soften the most furious passions; yet he was sometimes seized with desultory fits of humanity, and, from singular caprice, treated those of his

his prisoners with most regard who shewed the least respect for him *.

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At the period of Victor Hugues's arrival, general Thomas Dundas was expiring, a sacrifice to the yellow fever, which had also made dreadful ravages among the troops. The small reinforcements which had been sent from England were employed in St. Domingo; and the people of Guadaloupe, whether from natural fickleness, contempt of their small force, or distrust in their promises, were generally disaffected towards the English †. The French effected a landing at Grande-terre, and, being joined by great numbers of the people of colour, while many royalists abandoned the English standard, carried fort Fleur-d'Épée, after being twice repulsed by an inadequate garrison under lieutenant-colonel Drummond: Point à Pitre being considered untenable after this event, was evacuated by the English.

3d June.

Sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis were at St. Christopher's, preparing to sail for England, when intelligence of these disasters arrived; they immediately repaired to Guadaloupe, and a de-

6th.

* From Rose's Naval History of the War.

† Another cause has been assigned for this change, namely, the heavy contributions levied by the British commanders, sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis; but this charge has been abundantly disproved in the British senate, and a complete refutation may be found in Cooper Williams's Account of the Campaign in the West Indies, c. XI.

CH. XVI. 1794. tachment under brigadier-general Dundas, major Ross, and major Magan, attacking the French with great spirit at their post at Berville, put them completely to the rout, driving them into the water, where many perished, while a few saved themselves by swimming across the harbour to Point à Pitre.

Having collected a force from the adjacent islands, the commander in chief attempted the recovery of Grande-terre, effected a landing about 19th. six miles to the windward of Grozier, under cover of the shipping, and gained possession of the battery, which was abandoned by the French, who, after burning the houses and sugar-works in their road, took shelter in Fleur d'Epée. The valour displayed by the British troops was not, however, capable of achieving all that their situation required, unless reinforcements were speedily sent, which they had for the present no reason to expect. Insurrection prevailed in the smaller islands, and the necessity of retaining them in submission diminished the force, already too small, which was at the disposal of the British general. Fleur d'Epée was besieged, and the English troops gained possession of St. Ann's fort, and defeated a strong detachment of republicans in two attempts to surprize Morne Mascot; but fatigue, disease, the commencement of the rainy season, and the approach of the hurricane months, impelled sir Charles Grey to attempt finishing the 29th. campaign

campaign by one decisive effort to storm Fleur d'Epée. CH. XVI.

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The plan was well and judiciously formed, but failed through some misunderstanding of ^{1st July.} the directions. General Symes was instructed to march during the night, and make himself master of Morne Gouvernement and the other commanding heights round Point à Pitre; while sir Charles Grey, from the heights of Mascot, was, on receiving a signal, to storm Fleur d'Epée. General Symes, with a large detachment of grenadiers and light infantry, and a body of seamen from the Boyne and Veteran, proceeded from Mascot, and, after a dangerous and fatiguing march, during which they had reason to suppose they were observed by some of the French, they were ordered to advance to the attack while yet in disorder, and formed only in small parties. Contrary to expectation, they had found themselves assailed by a heavy discharge of round and grape shot from Morne Gouvernement and several other batteries, and from some twelve pounders, which had been landed from the shipping in the harbour, placed in tiers, and completely enfiladed the road along which they were advancing. In vain they stormed these batteries with the bayonet; when they had taken one, another opened from behind; the cannonade was one of the most severe ever witnessed, and soon threw the British troops into confusion. Instead of attempting the heights, they got into the town; and

were

CH. XVI. were mowed down by grape-shot playing upon them
 1794. in various directions, as well as musketry from the windows. Most of the officers who led the different divisions were killed or desperately wounded; and, at length, the remains of this unfortunate detachment effected a retreat to Mascot, having lost in killed, wounded, and missing, thirty-eight officers, forty-three non-commissioned, and six hundred and eleven privates.

Sir Charles Grey, deeming it impossible to effect any thing further at that season, reimbarbed his artillery, and strengthened his posts at Basse-terre, intending, if reinforcements arrived, to renew his efforts against Point à Pitre and Fleur d'Épée after the hurricane season; in the mean time he retired to Martinique, where a party of coloured banditti, unchecked by a sufficient force, had commenced terrible depredations.

At Guadaloupe the scene was daily becoming more dismal and hopeless: the head-quarters were judiciously chosen at Camp Berville, near Basse-terre, and the battalions under the command of captain De Rivigne destroyed great part of the town of Point à Pitre; but the climate and the neighbouring swamps increased the infection which thinned the English troops, and the yellow fever and other disorders raged with such violence, that, during the month of August, the sick composed a great majority in the camp. Two frigates and two sloops of war, stationed off the island
 for

for the purpose, could not with all their vigilance CH. XVI.
 prevent the conveyance of supplies to the French from 1794.
 America, and disaffected circumjacent islands. Victor
 Hugues found his numbers daily augmented by
 flocks of negroes and mullatoes who repaired to his
 standard, while the English were unable to furnish
 guards for their different batteries.

The French, taking advantage of a dark 26th Sept.
 night, embarked a strong detachment of
 troops at Point à Petre and Fort Louis, and eluding
 the British shipping effected two separate landings on
 Basse-terre. Every exertion was made to fortify the
 camp at Berville, but the numbers and determina-
 tion of the French enabled them to seize Bay Ma-
 haul and Petit Bourg, while the English took post at
 a battery called Point Bacchus. The republicans, at
 length, after several severe engagements, 29th.
 drove, by means of gun-boats, the English
 shipping from the harbour of Petit Bourg, stopt the
 communication between the camp and fleet, and
 finally compelled general Graham, who com-
 manded at Berville, to accept terms of capitu- 4th Oct.
 lation*. The British officer vainly essayed to include

* The terms were, that the garrison should march out with the
 honours of war, and be sent in French ships to England within
 twenty-one days after the surrender, under the condition of not
 serving against the French during the remainder of the war. This
 last condition was not observed, as the enemy broke their part of the
 agreement, by detaining the garrison in prison for more than a
 year, during which time many of them died.

CH. XVI. the French royalists in the articles; his humanity
 1794. could only save twenty-five, whom he sent in a covered
 boat on board the Boyne, while three hundred, who
 fell into the hands of their countrymen, were de-
 voted to destruction, and sacrificed without remorse.
 Fifty fell by the guillotine; the remainder were tied
 together, placed on the brink of the trenches they
 had so valiantly defended, and fired upon by the rawest
 recruits: the weight of the killed and wounded drew
 those who were unhurt into the trench, which was, by
 throwing in of earth, immediately converted into a
 grave, where all shared one common destiny.

Basse-terre was now the only place remaining in
 the hands of the English, and towards that Victor
 Hugues directed his overwhelming force, burning in
 his way the beautiful seats of the royalists, and laying
 waste their plantations. Sir John Jervis and general
 Prescott used their utmost exertions to defend Basse-
 terre, though without much hope of success, as their
 troops were still diminishing, and the royalists and
 militia refused to act, or deserted to the enemy.
 Under all these disadvantages, the defence was con-
 tinued for more than a month; but the republicans
 gaining the eminences, were enabled to fire on the
 shipping, and prevent them from rendering the wanted
 assistance. Victor Hugues had summoned the
 6th Nov. fort, but received a resolute answer of de-
 fiance, when a reinforcement arrived from
 14th. England in the Majestic, the Theseus, and
 the

the Bellona. Sir Charles Grey, worn down with fatigue and impaired in health, resigned his command to sir John Vaughan; and sir John Jervis, from the same motives, yielded his to vice-admiral Caldwell.

27th.

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The ships from England brought with them no military succour capable of resisting the republicans, who speedily reduced the fort almost to ruins; it became therefore necessary to evacuate this untenable position, and more especially, as the troops who remained were wanted to defend other islands, where the mortality had been no less dreadful than in Guadaloupe. The evacuation was planned and executed with the utmost judgment and secrecy; between four and five hundred men were embarked for Les Saintes, Antigua, and Martinique, without loss or accident, by eleven o'clock at night, while the French were so completely ignorant of their intention, that they continued their cannonade till two o'clock in the ensuing morning. Victor Hugues used his victories with the utmost brutality, and among other unmilitary and unmanly acts, demolished the tomb of general Dundas, dug up his body, and threw it into the river Galion; he also employed the British prisoners, officers as well as privates, in the most servile and degrading labours.

10th Dec.

Never were more valour and perseverance shewn in defiance of misfortune, distresses, and circumstances leading almost to despair, than were displayed by

CH. XVI. the British soldiers and sailors during this trans-
 1794. atlantic campaign. At sea the superiority was ni-
 1795. variably with the English; and that supe-
 5th Jan. riority was most honourably maintained by
 captain Faulknor, in the *Blanche* of thirty-two guns,
 in a conflict with *La Pique*, a republican frigate of
 thirty-eight guns. The gallant Briton fell by a
 musket-ball, while in the act of lashing, a second time,
 the bowsprit of *La Pique* to the capstern of his own
 ship. Mr. Watkins, the first-lieutenant, treading
 nobly in the steps of his predecessor, continued the
 engagement, blowing up the transom-beam of his
 own vessel to facilitate his operations; till, after a pro-
 digious carnage, the French captain struck his colours,
 and was carried into Martinique. The loss of captain
 Faulknor was severely felt in the West Indies; and his
 country shewed, by the most honourable testimonies
 which her senate could bestow, a due sense of his
 merits, and a proper regret for his fate*.

* From Rose's Naval History of the War, and Williams's
 Account of the Campaign in the West Indies.

CHAP. XVII.

The restored Deputies struggle to obtain a Reversal of the Decree of Outlawry issued against the fugitive Brissotines—Exertions of the Jacobins—Report of the Convention against Billaud de Varennes and three others—Their Arrest decreed—The outlawed Deputies reinstated—Further Indignities offered to the Jacobins—Arts used to inflame the Populace—Petitions and Tumults—A new System of Terror decreed—The Cause of the impeached Jacobins defended by Carnot—They are put on their Trial—Insurrection in their Favour—Its Progress and Termination—The four Deputies sentenced to Deportation—Several of their Adherents arrested—The Terrorists disarmed—Decree for restoring a Portion of confiscated Property—Trial of Fouquier Tainville and other Members of the Revolutionary Tribunal—Their Execution—Massacre of the Terrorists at Lyons and other Places—Embarrassment of Government—Committee appointed to frame a new Constitution—Preparations for a new Insurrection—Publications of the Jacobins—Artful Inertness of Government—Insurrection of the Fauxbourgs—Ferraud assassinated—The Mob deliberate and pass Decrees in the Hall of the Legislature—They are suddenly dispersed—
and

and several Members of the Legislature who espoused their Cause arrested—The Insurrection renewed—The Convention enters into a Treaty with the Insurgents, who are appeased—The Affassin of Ferraud rescued—Resolute Decree of the Convention—The Fauxbourg St. Antoine disarmed—Nineteen Ringleaders executed—Cruelties and Indignities inflicted on Louis XVII.—His Death—Supposed to be occasioned by Poison.

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WHEN the seventy-three imprisoned deputies were restored to their seats in the convention, it was imagined that their presence and influence would be sufficient to counteract the exertions of the furious jacobins, and insure the peace of the legislature; but they were no sooner readmitted than they began to require a repeal of the decree of outlawry against the fugitive deputies, and appeal to the public against the celebrated revolution of the 31st of May. Louvet had written an energetic letter, requiring freedom from the consequences of his outlawry *; Lanjuinais, Isnard, and Henry Lariviere, demanded a trial, and the restitution of their functions: the committee to whom the question was referred sought to evade a decision, by decreeing that no proceedings should be had on the outlawry, but that the petitioners should not be readmitted; but the deputies rejected this answer, insisting on a full discussion, and a satisfactory proclamation of their guilt or innocence.

* See Louvet's Letter, at the end of his Narrative, p. 238.

While these men, rendered confident by the advantageous change of circumstances, were thus court-
 ing judicial enquiry, the partisans of Collot d'Herbois, and that knot of assassins, were labouring to avert an investigation of which they had every reason to dread the result. The jacobins, though excluded from their hall, held secret councils, endeavoured to agitate the public mind, and distributed incendiary writings among the poor, attempting to persuade them that the dreadful famine which still prevailed in Paris proceeded from a conspiracy of the aristocrats and thermidorians to oppress the lower class, for the purpose of compelling them to consent to the re-establishment of royalty. One of their chief agents, named Armonville, a deputy, had the impudence to declare, that a million of heads must yet fall, to consolidate the revolution. The jacobins were, however, opposed by men who knew their principles, morals, and resources, too well, to permit confidence and additional audacity to flow from security and repose; the party which had gained the ascendancy did not, like the court, rely on the conscience of their adversaries, or the integrity of the people, for safety, but prepared to make a vigorous and final attack.

An opportunity was afforded of bringing this contest to a crisis, by the imprudent audacity of one of the jacobin members, who, overrating the force of his faction, moved that all the *suspected* should be remanded to prison. Cauzel, rising indignantly, pronounced

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CH. XVII. ^{1795.} nounced a severe philippic against the ministers of anarchy, whose labours eluded the fight, whose only courage consisted in the commission of crimes, and whose only wish was again to cover the republic with victims and with scaffolds. From general he descended to particular topics, and, after describing the crimes and atrocities of each of the seven denounced members, moved that the report respecting them should be brought up on the morrow. His proposition was sanctioned by a vote. Amar, Voulland, and David, were declared not guilty; but the conduct of Billaud de Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and Vadier, was submitted to the examination of a committee of twenty-one members, who appointed Saladin their reporter.

In a few days the convention received
1st March. from the hands of this deputy an extensive detail of the crimes by which these culprits had disgraced their country in the eyes of the whole world, and covered her with blood, with tears, and with calamities. The report was ordered to be printed; no one raised his voice in favour of the parties accused; and their arrest was decreed by an immense majority. Encouraged by this victory, the partisans of the outlawed deputies made new efforts for their reinstatement. Chenier and Merlin of Douai vigorously exerted themselves, and their success was anticipated from the espousal of the cause by Syeyes, who was never known to fail in embracing that party which
was

was likely to gain an ascendancy. The current was Ch. XVII.
1795. so strong in favour of the proposition, that the motion for a previous reference of their conduct to a committee was rejected with disdain, and their re-admission to the legislature unconditionally decreed.

All these events seemed at once wonderful and horrible to the jacobins; they, who but a year, nay, but a few months, before, had reigned paramount in all parts of France; who thought their authority established on the basis of popular attachment, and submission enforced by unlimited terror; were astonished to find that without uttering a sentiment, or affecting a change of conduct or principles, they were held in general contempt and detestation, pointed at, hunted, hustled in the public walks, hissed at the play-houses, and compelled generally to conceal their persons or deny their identity. The busts of Beauvais, Challier, Marat, and Lepelletier, with two pictures by David representing the deaths of the two latter deputies, were ejected from the hall of the convention: the ashes of Marat were (in the French phrase) *dispantheonised*; and the people, ever in extremes, dragged through the dirt, and buried in the common sewers at Montmartre, those images before which they had so lately prostrated themselves with superstitious and idolatrous homage.

Despairing of success in any efforts which their party could make in the convention, the jacobins directed their thoughts to a popular insurrection as the
only

CH. XVII. only method of gaining a political turn in their favour.

1795.

Topics for inflaming the public mind were not wanting. The lower class felt with unusual severity the horrors of scarcity, and applied in vain to their governors for succour. Since the fall of Robespierre, every thing but the administration of criminal justice had appeared to them in a state of continual deterioration. The harvest, far from producing plenty, had left them more than ever in misery: the rapid depreciation of assignats prevented the possibility of obtaining bread; while they were taught to believe that the new system of moderantism, by encouraging monopolisers and stock-jobbers, occasioned, or at least augmented, their distress. The great number of spies and revolutionary women who had been used to receive their daily stipend of forty sous, being deprived of that, and pursued by public contempt, were destitute of a resource: these and many other classes were taught to argue, that as they were in better circumstances during the time of Robespierre, his government must be preferable to the present, which gave them only actual misery and distant hope.

Incited by these arguments, a large mob of petitioners presented themselves at the bar of the convention, furiously demanding the re-establishment of the system of terror, as the means of supplying them with bread. The president answered them with firmness; "The legislators are at their post; return you to your labours." The mob left

left the hall, but their disposition to tumult did not subside; daily insurrections were excited, and groups collected in every quarter, who frequently surrounded the hall of the convention, insulting and threatening the members, particularly those called *Thermidorians*, whom they vowed to exterminate. Syeyes took advantage of these circumstances to procure a law, in nineteen articles, by which all incitements to pillage public or private property, or to acts of violence against individuals; to the re-establishment of royalty; to revolt against the constituted authorities, the republican government, or the national representation; all seditious cries uttered in the streets or public places against the sovereignty of the people or the national representation; all attempts to obtain admission into the temple, or correspond with the prisoners there; were declared crimes: and, on conviction, the culprit was to be transported (as the phrase was, which has since been current *deported*) for an indefinite term. The subsequent articles provided systems of conduct, and rules for calling in the armed force, on every occasion, from a simple riot to a general massacre of the legislators and forcible dissolution of the convention. This law, absurd in many respects, and tyrannical in all, proved that the pretended opposers of the system of terror; of vague denunciation, and indefinite crime, had no objection to establish a similar system, when it tended to their own security, or facilitated the destruction of their opponents.

A single

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CH. XVII. A single decree could not however be expected
 1795. to calm the public mind and give energy to the
 acts of government, when government was divided against itself, and when the course of inculpation pursued against the exploded jacobins was such as to expose every agent of the state to the effects of retro-active accusation. Many members of the convention, particularly Carnot and Prieur de la Marne, strenuously opposed the proceedings against Barrere, Billaud, Collot, and Vadier. "If these men," said Carnot, "are punished merely for having been members of the committee of public safety, I too ought to be punished, for our responsibility was indivisible." Carnot would not have ventured to use this argument, unless convinced that his reputed talents for military regulation rendered his services indispensable; but he pursued it by attempting to prove that his former colleagues were innocent, that the committee had acted only under the imperious necessity of saving the common-weal, and preserving the government, attacked by internal enemies, and threatened from without by the coalesced powers. The convention, he judiciously observed, had at one period sanctioned, and even applauded, those acts; and how could the same convention now pretend to call that a crime, which, on a former day, they had consecrated as a virtue?

The jacobin deputies, who were at the same time on their trial, made in substance the same defence; and

and most probably the decision on the question would have occasioned some embarrassment, but the court was spared the necessity of coming to a decision, by an event which enabled them to put in force the new law of the abbé Syeyes. For four days a continual disposition to insurrection had been manifested. It began by an assemblage of about six hundred women, who forced all of their sex whom they encountered to join with them: their troop was augmented by all the factious and turbulent spirits of the city; they seized the hall of the section des Gravilliers, and converted into a proclamation that paragraph of the Rights of Man which states, that "whenever oppression exists, insurrection is the most sacred of duties." Unawed by the presence of a deputy, who, being sent from the convention, exhorted them to disperse, they repaired to the hall of the legislature, and forced the entrance, clamorously demanding "bread, and the constitution of 1793." Every day the tumult increased, and the rioters were encouraged by the furious jacobins in the legislature, several of whom justified and without disguise applauded their proceedings; while the orators of the mob swore they would deliver their friends on the Mountain from the oppression under which they groaned, or die in the attempt. When this harmless, though insulting, insurrection, had attained its height, the legislators judged it expedient to check its progress: general Pichegru was at Paris; and

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1st April.

CH. XVII. and the convention, declaring the city in a state of
 1795. 2d. siege, invested him with the command of the
 armed force. Aided by Barras and some
 other deputies, and supported by a large body of
 armed citizens, he succeeded in restoring order with-
 out *; and the convention decreed the deportation of
 Barrere, Billaud, Collot, and Vadier; adding to that
 measure a vote of accusation against Châles, Chou-
 dieu, Ruamps, Fouffedoire, Leonard Bourdon, Hu-
 guet, Amar, Duhem, Thuriot, Moses Bayle, Gra-
 net, Hentz, Maignet, Cambon, Levasseur de la
 Sarthe, Craffoux, and Lecointre of Versailles, who
 had all taken conspicuous parts in favour of the in-
 surgents. The terrorists were, in a few days after-
 wards, disarmed; and the measure being extended to
 all the ancient members of revolutionary committees
 and conspicuous jacobins, nine hundred and sixty
 persons were rendered inveterate foes of the conven-
 tion: but they gained a greater number of friends by
 a decree for restoring to the relatives of those who
 had suffered unjustly during the reign of terror their
 confiscated properties, excepting the relations of
 Louis XVI., Robespierre and his accomplices, and
 the emigrants. This apparent act of justice was ex-
 tremely popular at the moment, though it contri-
 buted to depreciate the value of assignats, by ap-

* This is called by French writers the *Insurrection du douze Ger-
 minal*.

pearing to diminish the fund on which they were secured; but the governors of France never intended to render it the source of extensive good, and reserved the clause against emigrants as a fruitful source of future tyranny and oppression. CH. XVII.
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The deportation of four members of the committee of public safety was speedily followed by the trial of Fouquier Tainville, and the principal judges and jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal. The processes of this court had usually been considered as decided before their commencement; and now the agents of injustice and cruelty were doomed to experience the pangs they had inflicted on others. Their act of accusation was founded on all their judicial acts, all their barbarous perversions of justice, their contempt of form, feeling, and even manifest innocence, their inhuman pleasantries, and their immodest ribaldry. To complete the accusation in their own style, charges were added “of corrupting the public morality by the most atrocious and sanguinary discourses, and maintaining connections, correspondence, and intelligence, with the conspirators already struck with the sword of justice.” The whole population of Paris were at once the accusers, witnesses, judges, and jury, in this remarkable prosecution. Eloquence was not employed, nor indeed required, in illustrating the guilt of the culprits; nor, perhaps, considering the scene of their trial and the previous sentiments of the judges, was it necessary.

CH. XVII. necessary. Fouquier maintained an undaunted assurance, and his colleagues in guilt were not behind him in audacity; they cross-examined the witnesses with address, and made a defence replete with ingenuity, and calculated to mislead the jury. Fouquier, whose conduct attracted the greatest share of attention, was observed, during the time the act of accusation was read, and the public accuser was reciting facts in support of it, to appear as if writing; but his eyes wandered incessantly, in piercing inspection of the president and the whole court, the witnesses, and even the audience. His defence is described as an astonishing production of impudence and dexterity. "It was not possible," says Mercier, "to shew more assurance in denying, or more address in qualifying, facts, in separating them from consequences with which they were strictly connected, and particularly in offering a seasonable *alibi*. With an unaltered voice, he denied his own hand-writing; and with an unruffled countenance confronted the witnesses for the prosecution." The trial lasted twenty-four hours, and fifteen of the culprits, besides Fouquier, were found guilty*.

Their

* The number put on trial exceeded thirty: the individuals condemned were Fouquier Tainville, late public accuser of the revolutionary tribunal; Scellier, late president; Foucault and Garnier-Delannay, judges; Leroi, called *Dix Août*; Renaudin, Vilatte, Prieur, Châtelet, Gerard, and Boyenval, jurymen of the same court;

Their insolence did not forsake them even at the awful moment when sentence of death was pronounced ; they reviled the court, insulted the judges, threatened

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court ; Benoist, late agent of the executive power ; Lafne, an assistant commissioner in the civil administration of the police and tribunals ; Verney, turnkey at the prison of the Luxembourg ; Dupommier, an administrator of police ; and Hermann, late president of the revolutionary tribunal. Of all these persons the most flagitious memoirs are preserved ; but as Fouquier Tainville was the most conspicuous culprit, and as his conduct principally influenced the course of justice, it will be sufficient to afford the reader a short account of him.

Antoine Quentin Fouquier Tainville was, during the royal government, a *procureur au Châtelet* ; but having ruined himself by expensive living, sold his patrimony, and even his office. In 1793 he was appointed a jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal, where his eagerness for blood, and his reproaches against his colleagues for their scruples and mildness, recommended him to the notice of government, and he was appointed public accuser. The following anecdotes, supported by evidence on his trial, will shew in what manner he exercised his office. A person named Morin was put on his trial, when Fouquier thus addressed the jury : “ This Morin is not the person named in the act of accusation, but I accuse him of having concealed some plate, and so I lay hold on him :” without any other process, the man was guillotined. M. de Gamache was brought into court : “ This,” said the usher, “ is not the person named in the act of accusation.”—“ Never mind that,” Fouquier replied, “ bring him along.” Shortly afterwards the real Gamache appeared, and both were sent to the scaffold. Many instances are recorded of the rapid condemnation of three or four score persons comprised in one general act, without any address to the jury except asking them whether their consciences were not

CH. XVII. threatened the jury and witnesses, vaunted their innocence and patriotism, and demanded the kindness of the people towards themselves and their children, whom they bequeathed to the republic. They were
 1795. executed the following day, amid the shouts
 7th May. and execrations of the people, who even

sufficiently enlightened? It was Fouquier's custom, after the breaking up of the court, to repair to a coffee-house near the *Palais de Justice*, which was frequented by the judges and jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal. There, surrounded by a set of low flatterers, he would recount the numbers he had destroyed during the preceding decade. "How much," he would say, "do you think I have earned for the republic within these ten days?" They would guess such sums as they thought would please his vanity;—and he would reply—"In the next decade, I shall unbreech (*deculotterai*) three or four hundred." One day, when a cart-load of victims were going to the scaffold, a person enquired of Fouquier what crime they had committed? "I know nothing about it," he answered; "but if you will run after the cart, perhaps some of the criminals can tell you." An aged person, deaf, and nearly blind, was brought to the bar, but could not answer the interrogatories: "No matter," said Fouquier, "this person *a conspiré sourdement*"—a miserable pun upon the loss of hearing, which cannot be translated. An old man was in like manner arraigned, but the palsy affecting his tongue, prevented him from speaking: "We don't want his tongue," said Fouquier, "we want his head."—And in this manner, in barbarous sport, were the lives of many hundreds sacrificed by this inhuman agent of a bloody government. He was executed at the age of forty-eight; but his vigour of body promised a long life, had not justice overtaken his crimes. See the histories; Miss Williams's Letters, vol. IV. letter III.; Prud'hommé, vol. VI.; *Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans*, art. Fouquier Tainville.

covered

covered the roofs of houses to behold their progress, and see them suffer : they were, however, unmoved by all these admonitions of their guilt, and preserved till the last moment the same confidence of demeanor which had already excited so much astonishment and disgust.

The public mind could not be so suddenly brought from the contemplation of terror as the only means of safety and the only proof of virtue in government, to a system not only decidedly opposite in itself, but denouncing vengeance against all who had acted in support of the former, without using arts and inculcating principles which had a strong tendency to produce crimes and cruelties, under the notion of a just revenge. No force or skill in argument was necessary to exasperate those who had lost parents, relatives, or friends, against the wretches by whom they had been illegally and inhumanly slain ; but the course of declamation in the legislature, and the support of many publications, especially those by the late proscribed deputies, was to persuade the people that Robespierre and his adherents were in collusion, and even paid by the enemies of France ; and thus to exhibit them at once as assassins and traitors. The decree for demolishing and depopulating the city of Lyons had already been repealed, and several agents of the late system were imprisoned there, at Toulon, at Marseilles, and in other places, for their *ultra-revolutionary* rigours ; but the exasperated state of the

CH. XVII. public mind rendered the proceedings of the courts of

1795:

5th.

justice infecure and tumultuous. At Lyons, one Bonnard, a known informer during the reign of the proconsuls, was put on his trial; when the people assembling in great crowds, and testifying perhaps an unbecoming impatience, the military were ordered to attend, and through misunderstanding, or too officious zeal, attacked the people with their bayonets. These, smarting under their recent wrongs, and apprehensive that this imagined outrage indicated a resolution to protect their late oppressors, flew to the prison de Roanne, and massacred all their persecutors who were detained there awaiting their trial. The deputy on mission repairing to the spot, found, according to his own account, no disposition in the people to resist his authority; but his voice was drowned amidst the clamours for vengeance, and justifications of the late violences, which every individual attributed to his indignation at the loss of a parent or near and dear relative. Measures were taken for defending the entrances of the other prisons; but, in some, the captives were armed, and the gaol called *Des Recluses* was set on fire, and many lives lost. Scenes nearly similar occurred at Marseilles and Toulon, and these events were afterwards generally alluded to under the name of the reaction in the south.

The embarrassments of the convention, with respect to internal regulation, daily increased: on one side, the adoption of vigorous and general measures against

against the men of blood was clamorously demanded ; CH. XVII.
 on the other, a constitution was required with equal 1795.
 imperiousness and impatience.

To these subjects of difficulty were added those arising from the intolerable scarcity, which afflicted not only the capital, but the departments ; and the monstrous depreciation of assignats, which rendered it impossible for the labouring class to procure the necessaries of life. The convention durst not, for fear of a schism among themselves, venture on the adoption of too extensive measures against the terrorists ; and they had neither credit, nor commercial nor financial skill or resources, to avert or even palliate the evils arising from scarcity and poverty. To frame a constitution was indeed in their power, and that they promised with confidence ; and boasted of their wisdom in nominating as a committee to propose its organic principles, Merlin of Douai, Cambacérès, Syëyes, Thibaudeau, Laréveillière Lepaux, Lefage of Eure and Loire, Boissy d'Anglas, Creusé-Latouche, Jean Baptiste Louvet, Berlier, and Daunou.

A constitution was not, however, a substitute for the necessaries of life ; nor could the people, now that such a project was no longer a novelty, be induced to forget their miseries by so flimsy a consolation as any social system, fabricated by the talents of which they had already sufficient experience, could bestow. The jacobins beheld with joy the augmenting discontents, which they thought would enable them once more

CH. XVII. to assume an ascendancy, and planned an insurrection
1795. for that purpose; government too, it is said, were
not averse to a commotion which they felt strong
enough to suppress, and from the extinction of which
they could claim augmentations of their power, as
means of security to the commonwealth. The ja-
cobins, perfectly skilled in the arts of insurrection,
knew how to inflame the passions of the people by
the strongest representations of their sufferings, and
by artful anticipations of future misery. They de-
scanted, in glowing terms, on the public distress; im-
puting it, and not without apparent cause, to the
committee of public safety, which, with the power of
commanding the whole wealth of the nation, suffered
the people to perish with hunger. Murmurs were,
like the misery which occasioned them, general. The
farmer, ruined by the sudden depreciation of paper
money; the mechanic, obliged to lose, in quest of a
miserable morsel of bread, the greater portion of the
day in which his labour should have supplied him
with the means of paying for it; the miserable mother
of a family, vainly waiting a whole night at the door
of a baker's shop, to obtain a few ounces of bread
or of rice, insufficient for the nourishment of her
starving babes; the father, overwhelmed with ten-
derness and poverty, seeking refuge in suicide from
the unappealable cries of his wretched family; while,
on the other hand, the most audacious immorality
ostentatiously displayed its unbridled luxury and
guilty

guilty treasures : monopolizers, under the mask of ^{CH. XVII.} freedom of trade, greedily sucking up all resources, _{1795.} and stopping the circulation of all necessaries; and stock-jobbers, playing with private credit and drying up the sources of national responsibility, trafficking with the subsistence, and fattening on the blood, of the people; while rich upstarts ridiculously affected the manners of the old court, and did not disguise their wishes for its re-establishment*.

Such was the picture, drawn from fact though highly coloured, with which the jacobin leaders inflamed the passions of the fans-culottes, while they were prevented from confiding in the promised constitution by loud commendations of that fabricated in 1793. Conceiving the public mind to be sufficiently prepared, the jacobins announced their intentions in the capital and to the departments by a sort of manifesto, in which they proposed an insurrection to obtain *bread and the constitution of 1793*, words which they ordered to be a signal, and that all who did not pronounce them should be arrested. Although this proclamation was disseminated during several days in the departments, and several public functionaries resigned their offices in order to take part with the insurgents, yet the committees made no effort to avert the impending attack; and it was not till the very morning in which the contest was to

20th.

* From Prud'homme, vol. VI. p. 487.

CH. XVII. be decided, that a member of the committee of public
 1795. safety made a communication on the subject to the
 convention.

During the whole night of the 19th of May, the tocsin had been sounded, and frequent deputations passed between the fauxbourgs St. Antoine, St. Marceau, and St. Jaques; and on the following morning, at the dawn of day, the streets were filled with groups of men and women, shouting *bread and the republican constitution of 1793*; words which were chalked in large characters on the hats of their leaders. The convention opened its sitting by reading the proclamation for an insurrection, which was loudly applauded by a party in the galleries; while another party no less vehemently extolled the members, when they took the oath to die at their posts. Many women were in the tribunes with children in their arms, whom they held out to the legislators, clamorously demanding bread, to relieve the wants of their infants and themselves. Vernier, who was president, quitted the chair, which was for a time occupied by André Dumont, and subsequently by Boissy d'Anglas; while general Hoche, with a few followers, endeavoured to clear the galleries. Encouraged by these exertions, the convention pronounced a decree which rendered the commune of Paris responsible for all crimes against the national representation, outlawed all the ringleaders of the insurrection, ordered all citizens to repair in arms to their sections, declared their

their sitting permanent, and charged Louvet, Genissieux and Sevestre, with the promulgation of the decree. CH. XVII.
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Meanwhile a great body of people presented themselves at the bar, with a petition for reducing the price of provisions, and their address was resolutely supported by those who still kept possession of the galleries, while new efforts were made for their expulsion : a door of the hall was forced, but the intruders were twice driven back ; they rallied, and again forced the entrance, encountering an armed force which passed through the opposite door to resist them. Muskets were fired on both sides, but the insurgents remained victorious ; about twenty of them menaced the president, who remained at his post without attempting to fly ; when Ferraud, endeavouring to protect him, was shot with a pistol, and his head being severed from his body, was brought in on a pike, and brandished in the face of the president, in whose defence he had fallen. The insurgents gained possession of the desk and all the benches of the convention, driving out the greater portion of the members, and deliberating and haranguing in their places. Boissy, who still sat as president, vainly endeavoured to compose the tumult ; some of the mob clamouring for bread, while many required the arrest of the deputies who were not at their post, and some the imprisonment of Tallien and Freron. Other violent propositions were made ;
till,

CH. XVII. till, at a late hour in the evening, Romme, officiating
 1795. as president, proposed a decree for liberating the patriots imprisoned since the 27th of July for their opinions, and the suspension of all proceedings against them, a repeal of the edict for disarming the pretended terrorists, and the recal of the deputies who had fled or been arrested on the 1st of April. All these measures were ordained by the mob, without any other ceremony than that of taking off their hats and crying Decreed! Decreed! They also annulled the committee of general safety, appointing in its stead a commission composed of Bourbotte, Duroi, Prieur de la Marne, and Duquesnoi.

The friends of government prudently declined a decisive contest with the insurgents during the busy period of day, when every street would furnish recruits to their opponents; but, at eleven at night, Legendre, at the head of a chosen corps of resolute men from the most faithful battalions, entered the hall, shouting *Vive la convention!* The mob fled with precipitation; Legendre took the president's chair; and, a number of deputies having resumed their seats, the military withdrew. The late decrees were immediately annulled, and the deputies who had assisted in passing them were put in a state of accusation, and taken in custody by the commander of the guard*. It was also

* The deputies thus arrested were, Romme, Duquesnoi, Goujon, Bourbotte, Soubrany, Duroi, Peyssant, Prieur de la Marne, Pinet senior,

also decreed that on the following day the convention should attend Ferraud's funeral in costume. The fitting was closed at half past three in the morning, on an assurance from the committees that the insurrection was at an end.

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Soon after the rising of the convention, the insurgents were again in motion; the générale beat, and whole battalions from the fauxbourgs resolutely demanded the liberation of their imprisoned leaders. They assembled at the *Maison de la Commune*, called themselves a national convention, and put the members of the real legislature out of the law, together with the sections of Le Butte des Moulins and Le Pelletier. The convention met at nine o'clock, and having obtained a guard for all the avenues to the Tuilleries, composed of the most faithful battalions, and given the command of the cavalry to Dubois de Crancé, decreed that all the bells in the public buildings in Paris should be sent to the cannon founderies, and that every individual who wore any party signal, except the national cockade, should be put in arrest. Again the convention had

21st.

senior, Albitte senior, Lecarpentier de la Manche, Borje, Fayau, Ruhl, Forestier, Lavallé, Potrizel, Sergent, Beaudoin, Lacoste, Allard, Lejeune, Javogue, Dartigoyte, Mallarmé, Monestier, Mauré, Lescudier, and Laignelot. Tallien moved that *the morrow's sun should not shine on them*; and Bourdon de l'Oise required that *they should be shot in the hall*; neither motion was carried.

the

CH. XVII. the prudence to adopt no active measure during
 1795. the day, assured that night would terminate the
 insurrection. At eight in the evening the rioters
 were assembled on the Place du Caroufel, and that
 of the Revolution, and were opposed by the troops
 who adhered to the convention. Cannon were
 loaded, and both parties were loud in reproaches
 and mutual defiance; when the committees of go-
 vernment proposed to the legislature to send a deputation
 of ten members to fraternise with their brethren
 of the city of Paris.

At ten o'clock the deputation returned to the hall,
 announcing the success of their mission, and that the
 battalions on both sides united in swearing to defend
 the convention. A decree was immediately passed
 that a committee of eleven should instantly occupy
 itself in securing subsistence, and should on the 13th
 of June present to the legislature the necessary laws
 for organising the constitution of 1793. A deputation
 of six members from the insurgents having then
 obtained permission to appear at the bar, their orator
 demanded bread, the constitution of 1793, the liber-
 ation of patriots arrested since the fall of Robespierre,
 the punishment of scoundrels, vengeance on those
 who assassinated the people by making distinctions be-
 tween assignats and hard cash, and required for the
 people the exercise of those privileges which were
 assured to them by the declaration of the rights of
 man and by the constitution. The orator received
 the

the fraternal embrace, and the convention rose, re-
 lying with justice on the effect which their temporising
 conduct would produce among the people. CH. XVII.
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The night passed in tranquillity, and the
 ensuing morning presented no appearance 22d.
 of the renewal of insurrection, till the man who
 had carried Ferraud's head on a pike was led out
 to execution: he was rescued by his party, and
 a new mob began to collect; but the conven-
 tion had first secured with their troops the ad-
 vantageous posts which their opponents had for-
 merly occupied, and their battalions kept possession
 of them during the whole night. The insurgents
 were dispersed, and their numbers thinned in pro-
 portion to the augmentation of those attached to the
 legislature; their proceedings no longer threatened
 danger, though they still indicated commo-
 tion; and the convention secured its ascen- 23d.
 dancy, by decreeing that the inhabitants of the faux-
 bourg St. Antoine should instantly give up the mon-
 ster who carried Ferraud's head on a pike and the
 assassins of that virtuous legislator, and also all the
 cannon in their possession; in case of refusal, they
 were to be declared in a state of rebellion and re-
 duced by force, and no distribution of bread was to
 be made in that part of the metropolis.

A body of troops, who marched towards the faux-
 bourg to enforce this decree, were repulsed, and ob-
 liged to retreat; but at that moment they were
 joined

CH. XVII. joined by a strong reinforcement; the united columns
 1795. summoned the fauxbourg to surrender on pain of a
 general bombardment, and in less than an hour the
 cannon, muskets, assassins of Ferraud, and leaders of
 the insurgents, were given up to the commanders of
 the armed force. The next day nineteen of
 25th. them were executed, in pursuance of a sen-
 tence of a military commission *. Ferraud's ob-
 2d June.sequies were performed with great pomp in
 the hall of the convention, which was de-
 corated with flowers and oak branches for the occa-
 sion. Louvet made his funeral harangue, and, be-
 sides recapitulating all his virtues and acts of bra-
 very, called back the attention of the legislature to
 the 2d of June, 1793, when the orator and his
 friends were driven from the hall, or doomed to
 death or to find safety in flight and conceal-
 ment †.

This insurrection, like all those which preceded
 it, was ascribed to the royalists, and fears were in-
 stilled into the republicans of projects for placing the
 son of Louis XVI. on the throne. Since his separa-
 tion from his female relatives, the days of that un-
 happy child had been embittered by all the gross and

* This is called by French writers *Insurrection des premiers jours de Prairial*.

† See Prud'homme, vol. VI. p. 485.; Histoire, par deux Amis, vol. XIII. p. 129.; Defadoards, vol. VI. p. 81.

wanton indignities which upstart malice, divested of CH. XVII.
all decency and exempt from all restraint, could 1795.
inflict. His education was at first intrusted to one Simon, a cobbler, who made a boast of compelling him to drink spirituous liquors, and to pronounce blasphemies and obscene expressions. This wretch fell a victim to the rage of Robespierre against the Cordeliers; and the young prince was then abandoned to the superintendance of the guards, who exercised their power with the utmost malignity of wanton cruelty. They were accustomed to knock many times in the night at the door of his apartment, and exclaim with a terrific voice, "Capet! are you there?" The child, waking in terror, answered, "Yes, here I am."—"Come hither then, and let me see you." Upon which the innocent object of persecution was obliged to rise, and shew himself naked at the wicket. The guard then gave him leave to retire to bed, and he lay trembling and dozing till the same scene was repeated. The offices of cleanliness were totally neglected. He could not, like his female relations, supply the deficiency of attendants by his own exertions. His chamber was disgusting through accumulated filth; his skin was never properly washed; and his hair was matted, for want of being combed. His health appeared obviously to decline; and from long suffering and the absence of hope, his mind would probably have been no less impaired than his body.

After the fall of Robespierre it might have been
expected

CH. XVII. expected that the rigour of the child's fate would have
 1795. been softened; but the *reign of terror* and the *reign of virtue* were to him alike. Four months after the destruction of the tyrant, a deputation from the committee of general safety attended at the bar of the convention, to repel with indignation an assertion advanced in the *Courier Universel*, importing, that "the committee, persuaded that no one ought, merely because he was the son of a king, to be degraded below humanity, had appointed three commissioners, men of probity and knowledge, in the place of Simon; two of them charged with the education of the orphan, and the third to take care that he did not, as formerly, want necessaries." This imputation roused the anger of the deputation; their orator declared them strangers to every idea of meliorating the captivity of the children of Capet, or of appointing them instructors. "The committees and the convention," he observed, "know how to strike off the heads of kings, but they know not how to educate their children." In the course of the same month, Lequinio pronounced that France would never be at peace while the offspring of the tyrant remained among them, and moved that the committee of government should devise means of sending the son of Louis out of the territories of the republic. This was decreed; but no subsequent measures adopted.

Death, at length, delivered the legislators
 9th June. from their embarrassment, and their victim
 from

from his woes. As some suspicions were entertained ^{Ch. XVII.} that his fate had been accelerated by poison, three ^{1795.} surgeons were commissioned to examine his body. They made a vague report, tending to prove that he died of a scrofulous complaint; but there are many reasons to believe that he was poisoned. The expediency of destroying the direct heir to the crown was a motive, and the untimely death of the three surgeons, Duffault, Doublet, and Choppart, strongly corroborates the suggestion*.

* See Biographical Memoirs, vol. I. p. 159; Necker on the Revolution, vol. II. p. 84; Les Derniers Regicides.

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Peace made with Tuscany—Holland enters into an Alliance with France—Abolishes the Office of Stadtholder—State of the Public Mind in Spain—Of the French Armies in the Eastern and Western Pyrenées—They are successful in several Affairs of Posts—Peace made—the Terms humiliating to Spain—The Landgrave of Hesse and Elector of Hanover make Peace with France—Treaty for liberating the Daughter of Louis XVI.—She is exchanged for sundry Prisoners—New Insurrection in La Vendée—Motives assigned—Assistance from England promised—An Expedition equipped—Landing effected at Quiberon—Several Places captured, including Fort Penthièvre—Hoche advances—he is enabled, by the Treachery of some Deserters, to attack Fort Penthièvre—The Emigrants lay down their Arms on a Promise of Quarter—but are barbarously murdered—Charette and Stofflet, after many brave Exertions, taken and executed—New Pacification—Preparations in the Convention for framing a new Constitution—Its Completion announced—Examination of its Principles—It is accepted by the People—Decree for electing two-thirds of the New Councils from the Convention—strongly opposed by the People—Artifices of the Convention—Preparations for Resistance—General Danican heads the Popular Party—French Generals of Character refuse to command the Troops

Troops of the Convention—Barras commands them—First conspicuous Appearance of Buonaparte—Insurrection begun—The Convention enter into a pretended Treaty—but suddenly fire upon the People—Great Slaughter—The Insurrection ended—Prisoners tried by a military Commission—Elections completed—Convention dissolved—Its Character, in a general View—Its Prodigality—and Destruction of human Life.

DURING these transactions, the French 1795. government used considerable exertions in recruiting and equipping the armies; but the campaign was commenced under circumstances widely different from those which preceded. The French arms were triumphant in every direction, and the military inflamed with the ardour resulting from success; the grand alliance was broken, and states which had hitherto beheld the republican government with horror, and justly considered its existence as incompatible with their safety and political independency, were now bound in compacts of peace, and even leagued in bonds of alliance. The grand-duke of Tuscany had made peace before Prussia; the moment victory appeared permanent on the side of the French he offered his apologies for joining the allies, and stated that he had only adopted that mode of conduct under the influence of threats, which he had not sufficient force to withstand. Contemptible as this prince was in territorial possession, and even in personal respects,

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his offer of peace was hailed by France as the first defection from the general system, and his minister was entertained at Paris with ostentatious civility, as a precedent for other courts to expect that their envoys would be received with similar respect. Prussia followed, and was indeed an acquisition of the highest consequence; and Holland, subdued less by the arms than the gold and principles of France, soon evinced her total subjugation, by imprudently taking up arms in favour of that power whose prevailing influence menaced her with certain

destruction. The government of Holland was reformed on the French model, the office of

stadtholder abolished, and an alliance between the two republics immediately followed; an alliance equally impolitic, disgraceful, and dishonest, which took from the United Provinces every semblance of independency, and rendered the wealth and force of Holland abjectly subservient to the ambition of their new ally, without hope of either advantage or honour to themselves. The stadtholder, from the palace of Hampton-court, which the king of Great Britain had generously assigned him as a residence, issued a manifesto, protesting against the late transactions; but such an indication of opinion could not be expected to produce any effect beyond that of shewing the sentiments of an individual, and confirming the esteem of a few remaining adherents.

Terrified at the success of the French arms, and infected

infected too by French intrigues, the people in many parts of Spain began to testify a desire of peace. Politicians devoted to the interests of the republic represented the kingdom of Spain as destitute both of means and energy requisite for defence, and affected to think that the whole realm must inevitably be overrun, unless a pacific compact was speedily made; but, in fact, Spain possessed all the means and all the spirit requisite for resistance, and was deficient only in wise counsellors, and prudent leaders, who would have directed the public spirit, and guided the public force to the attainment of victory and the maintenance of independence. The French armies in both the Pyrenées suffered the horrors of famine, combined with the scourge of an epidemical distemper; from neither could they expect relief, while the Spaniards were making daily attacks, and attempting to regain the towns and strong places which had been wrested from them. In these efforts they were unsuccessful; but the vigour with which they were undertaken, particularly an assault on the town of Rosas, proves that a resolute exertion in government, and a zealous determination to carry on the war, would have secured to them victory and independence.

In the Western Pyrenées, the army of France suffered peculiarly from famine and disease. "An epidemical disorder," says the historian of this war, "was occasioned by the crowding of the hospitals, which brought on that malady so well described by Pringle

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Pringle under the name of the hospital fever. From the banks of the Deva to those of the Gers, this visitation ravaged the army; in one day twenty hospitals were filled; the officers of health and the servants were infected, and perished in great numbers." In three months thirty thousand persons are said to have died. The Spaniards did not take advantage of this favourable crisis, but rested quietly till the spring, when the French, having regained some portion of health and spirits, made attacks on them in several quarters. After many affairs of posts, in which they were generally successful, they crossed the Deva, compelled the Spaniards to evacuate their position at Elosua, and gained possession of Lecumbery. Three days afterwards a severe battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Irurzun, in which the French were still successful, and obtained possession of Vitoria, Bilboa, and Miranda on the Ebro, in consequence of the flight of Crespo, the Spanish general. No other transaction of importance occurred, when the campaign was terminated by a peace concluded at Basle. The formation of this treaty was facilitated by a change in the cabinet of Madrid, where the duke of Alcudia, a new minister, afterwards known by the title of prince of peace, presided, and acted on principles directly hostile to the interests of the allies. The joy which this arrangement occasioned at Paris proves that the French legislature was not extremely sanguine in the hope of Spanish

28th June.

3d July.

6th.

22d July.

Spanish

Spanish plunder and conquest; the treaty was certainly sufficiently humiliating to Spain, who, in compensation for the towns restored by France, yielded up her portion of the island of St. Domingo and her possessions on the continent of North America*.

To these pacifications should also be added those with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the king of England as elector of Hanover, which took place in the month of September; and further expectations were formed, in consequence of an article in the Spanish treaty by which his catholic majesty engaged to mediate with the kings of Portugal, Naples, and Sardinia, the duke of Parma, and all other powers who would make application to the court of Madrid.

One good effect which resulted from the spirit introduced by these treaties was the liberation of the last remaining descendant of Louis XVI. This unfortunate princess had seen in her early years the barbarous extermination of all her family, had been subjected by the representatives of the great republic to hardships and indignities which would not in England be offered to a parish charity-child, and was reported to owe her life only to an ambitious project formed by Robespierre of marrying her, in order to sanction some of his ambitious views. This account is not altogether credible, since Robespierre did not

* See Histories; and Memoires sur la dernière Guerre entre la France et l'Espagne, p. 153, et seq.

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from an alliance with the female branch.

30th June. After the death of Louis XVII. the rulers of France ventured to dismiss their fears; and the convention passed a decree that so soon as the minister at war and deputies delivered up by Dumouriez, or by other means fallen into the hands of the allies, should be restored to their country, the daughter of Louis XVI. should be placed in the hands of commissioners appointed by the emperor of Germany to receive her, and the other members of the Bourbon family should

25th Dec. be at liberty to quit the republic. After a considerable time spent in negotiation, she

was secretly conveyed to Basse and there surrendered into the hands of her friends; and the republic gained in return for this gem preserved from the wreck of royalty, Beurionville, Camus, Bancal, Quinette, and Lamarque, who had been delivered up by Dumouriez; Drouet, the jacobin post-master of Varennes; and Semonville and Maret, arrested under equivocal circumstances by order of the governor of Milan. The liberated deputies, particularly Drouet, published pompous rhodomontades respecting their behaviour on their capture, the hardships and indignities they suffered, their republican firmness and valiant hauteur, and their resolute sufferance and marvellous adventures in endeavouring to escape. The million

were

were for a while amused by these romances ; but the heroes being always before their eyes, they were soon undeceived, and laughed at the impudence of the narrators, and their own complaisance in crediting their fictions. The princess-royal was received with the utmost cordiality at the Imperial court, and the archduke Charles offered her his hand ; but this splendid and auspicious alliance could not divert the mind of the young princess from that which she considered her duty, the accomplishment of a promise made by her parents to the count d'Artois, in consequence of which she was married to his son *.

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While the princess was thus disposed of by the legislators of her native country, the cause of royalty excited again those commotions in La Vendée which the republicans hoped either to have totally suppressed, or, at least, prevented from re-appearing for a considerable period. The peace made with the people of La Vendée in a moment so critical to France was considered only as a matter of policy ; and the republican writers admit that certain men, who were accustomed to regard those provinces as condemned to everlasting proscription, shewed but little delicacy in observing the terms of pacification. Urged by repeated wrongs, and inspired by hopes of ultimate success, the people of the ancient provinces of Brittany,

* See Histoire, par deux Amis, vol. XIV. p. 172, and other histories and periodical works.

Poitou,

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Poitou, Maine, Anjou, and Normandy, suddenly reared the standard of revolt. Charette commanded the Vendéans; the Chouans and other royalists were led by Joseph count de Pufaye, who held a commission from Louis XVIII., and was assisted by Stofflet, Scepeaux, Sapineau, and many others. Vitré and Grandchamp were their general places of rendezvous, but they seldom appeared as an army; they confined themselves to surprisings and skirmishes, in which they were frequently successful, and did 16th June. the republicans great injury. The national convention, on the report of Doulcet, imputing to the insurgents treachery, a correspondence with England, and a participation in the late insurrections in Paris, passed a decree deputing three representatives to the armies of the coasts of Brest and Cherbourg and to the surrounding departments, and empowering the committee of public safety to give to those representatives the necessary instructions. In 27th. exercise of this authority, the committee issued a decree forbidding all assemblies of men armed or unarmed without a requisition, declaring the white cockade a counter-revolutionary badge, and ordaining the prosecution and punishment of the chiefs of the Chouans.

These measures were neither timely nor vigorous enough to answer the intended purpose. The 21st. chiefs of the royal and catholic army of La Vendée and of the Chouans published an answer to Doulcet's

Doulcet's report, in which they fully displayed their own principles and intentions, the ferocity and treachery of the convention, the circumstances under which the late treaty of peace had been negotiated, and the villainy with which it was violated, particularly in the fate of Louis XVII. Orders were given, the writer of this paper affirmed, for the march of troops into the insurgent provinces, and the massacre of their chiefs, their wives, and their families. In support of these allegations an intercepted letter was produced, signed by Tallien, Treilhard, Syeyes, Doulcet, Rabaut, Marec, and Cambaceres.

Charette also published a spirited manifesto, 26th.
declaring the cause of his present proceedings.

At the period of the late pacification, he said, Canclaux, the commanding general of the republican armies, and Ruelle, representative of the people, presented themselves with a semblance of good faith, sensibility, and humanity, and made proposals of peace. They were informed of the causes and motives which induced the insurgents to arm; they knew their constant love for the unfortunate offspring of their kings, and their inviolable attachment to the religion of their forefathers. They decoyed the Vendéans into several secret conferences. 'Your wishes shall be fulfilled,' they said; 'we agree with you in opinion; our dearest hopes are the same as yours; no longer separate yourselves from us, but exert yourselves in concert with us, and within six months, at most, all your wishes

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wishes shall be granted, and Louis XVII. be seated on the throne. We will cause all the jacobins and Maratists to be arrested and removed, and monarchy shall be established on the ruins of popular anarchy. To the glory already acquired you will add the distinguished honour of having, in a direct and active manner, co-operated to bring about this fortunate change, and of restoring the happiness of your country, as well as of all the other provinces of France.' In order to evince the sincerity of their intentions, Morisson, Gaudin, Delaunay, and other representatives, assured the Vendéans, in several conferences, that the whole convention was of the same sentiments, but that prudence made it necessary to act with circumspection, and not to fly in the face of the public opinion, but by little and little to prepare and bring on the new order of things. 'The more to convince you of the sincerity of our professions,' they observed, 'we allow you to retain your arms. No kind of hostilities shall be exercised against you and your country. In appearance you will organise your military force, under the name of *territorial guards*; but, in fact, it will remain the same. We promise even to deliver into your hands some of the criminals who have pillaged and desolated your unfortunate country, and supply you with powder and ammunition.' These promises, Charette observed, were in part fulfilled; powder and ammunition were sent, and some soldiers were given up as victims to the
just

just resentment of a people enraged by their excesses.

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“ But how great was our astonishment,” Charette proceeds, “ or rather our indignation, when we found our confidence abused and our expectations frustrated by those faithless and shuffling intriguers, who are ever guided by the circumstances of the moment ; when we saw the chiefs of the Chouans arrested, imprisoned, and surrendered to sanguinary tribunals ; when we saw the chiefs of the Vendéans treated in the same manner, some of our infantry and cavalry disarmed, our provisions carried off, all sorts of hostilities committed, and all the atrocities and horrors of civil war renewed ; lastly, when we learnt *that the ill-fated son of our unfortunate monarch, our king, had been cowardly poisoned by that impious and barbarous sect, which, far from being destroyed, still desolates our unfortunate country !*

“ What was it then our duty to do ?—that which honour, and our inviolable attachment to the throne and the altar, dictated ; that which the people themselves, more enraged than ever, demanded and desired. We have taken up arms again, and renewed the inviolable oath never to lay them down until the heir apparent to the crown shall be seated on the throne of his forefathers, and the Roman-catholic religion acknowledged and faithfully respected.

“ Frenchmen, ye that still deserve this name,
judge,

CHAP. judge and decide on our sentiments and conduct :
 XVIII. join, or rather imitate us. Rise at last from that
 1793. dastardly stupor and indifference wherein you have so long languished. Rally around the common centre and glory of Frenchmen ; cease to be in appearance the guilty associates of your enemies, and to serve your executioners. Let experience tutor you ; and prefer a glorious death to a life branded with crimes."

30th. This eloquent address was reinforced by one from M. de Pufaye, who promised that the king of Great Britain would speedily send to the assistance of the insurgents an army composed of French troops, French officers and soldiers, who had for four years fought for their king.

13th July. In answer to these papers, Tallien and Blad, members of the committee of public safety, sent on special mission, published a proclamation in the name of the republic, filled with coarse reflections and rancorous abuse against the allied powers and the emigrants, but not denying any one allegation in the proclamations of the royalists, not even the letter to which Tallien's signature was affixed. The convention also published, and circulated with profusion, a pretended manifesto of Louis XVIII. in which, regardless of the natural character and general conduct of that prince, and regardless even of the tenor of the proclamation of the 21st of June by the
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the royalist chiefs, they made him utter sentiments of cruelty, tyranny, and implacable revenge*.

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The interference of England was confidently expected, and the time was peculiarly favourable to such an exertion. The emigrants, many of whom had long been fed by the bounty of the British nation, panted for an opportunity to shew that they were not formed for a life of humble dependence without making a strenuous exertion to recover their rights, and assert in arms the cause to which they were devoted. The English prisons were crowded with French captives, many of whom professed an ardent desire to join in an expedition to be headed by the princes and nobles of their own country.

The English navy rode triumphant in the Channel, where lord Bridport had recently defeated the French fleet and taken three ships of seventy-^{22d June.}

* See all these papers, except that of the 21st of June, in Debret's Collection, vol. IV. The paper which the editor of that compilation has omitted is in the *Histoire de la Révolution, par deux Amis*, vol. XIV. p. 84; *Histoire de la République Française depuis la Separation de la Convention Nationale, jusqu'à la Conclusion de la Paix entre la France et l'Empéreur*, par Desadoards, vol. I. p. 52. A circumstance which strongly proves the authenticity of this paper, and the genuineness of the letter inserted in it, is this: Desadoards, subsequently to his first publication, wrote a general History of the Revolution, in which he republished this proclamation in a garbled form, and particularly excluded from the signatures to the letter the names of Syeyes and Treilhard. See *Histoire de la Révolution*, vol. VI. p. 167.

CHAP. four guns. A respectable portion of the English
 XVIII. ministry had always been of opinion that France
 1795. was the spot where the effects of the French re-
 volution ought to be counteracted; that a prince of
 the blood, at the head of a large army, should raise the
 standard of a counter-revolution in his native land,
 and be empowered to pronounce the dictates of jus-
 tice, or offer the persuasions of mercy. The chiefs
 of the insurrection addressed an energetic petition to
 George III. explaining their motives for resuming
 their arms, requesting his assistance, and invoking
 him to follow the example of his great predecessor,
 queen Elizabeth*.

Influenced by these motives, and gained by these
 entreaties, the British government dispatched a strong
 naval force to assist the insurgents; and besides equip-
 ping a great number of emigrants and prisoners, pro-
 vided an ample portion of arms, ammunition, and
 clothing, for such inhabitants of France as might be
 willing to join them.

27th. Although no sea-port was in possession of
 the insurgents, the English fleet found no
 difficulty in effecting a landing of three thousand troops
 at Quiberon; a body of republicans, who opposed
 them, were easily dispersed; and it is said that the in-
 surgents, apprised of the time and place of landing,
 favoured the operation by seizing an important bat-

* See Debrett's Papers, vol. IV. p. 113.

tery,

tery, and breaking down the bridges which would enable the republicans to unite their corps. Count d'Hervilly, who so honourably distinguished himself on the 10th of August, 1792, commanded the emigrants; and, in order to ascertain the disposition of the country, advanced some distance from the place of landing. Great numbers came in and received clothing and accoutrements, and hopes were entertained of establishing a formidable army; but these expectations were checked by the conduct of the Chouans, who, incapable of renouncing their own peculiar mode of warfare, fled at the sight of a few republican troops, hiding themselves among hedges and inclosures, and seeking only an advantageous moment for a temporary sally. The emigrants, however, gained possession of Auray, and were masters of a small tract of country between the lake of Auray and that of Kergourich, to the high road leading from Auray to Hennebont; they also captured fort Penthievre, with six hundred men, whom they sent prisoners to the British fleet.

Hoche commanded the republican troops in this quarter: considering his force insufficient, he retreated to Morbihan; and evacuating several towns, halted in the midway to Rennes. Soon the accession of reinforcements enabled him to resume offensive operations and compel the emigrants to evacuate Auray, abandon an entrenched camp at Carnac, and fall back to the peninsula of Quiberon, under the guns of fort

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Penthievre. The principal aim of the republican general was to straiten their quarters, as he had no hope of taking the position they occupied by assault; but an act of treachery enabled him to concert a plan of attack which was crowned with success. Some republican prisoners, who had volunteered in the expedition, having deserted, undertook to guide the French troops by an almost impassable route to fort Penthievre, the defence of which was injudiciously entrusted to men of their own description. The

28th July. enterprise was commenced on a most tempestuous night, by a detachment of three

thousand men, under generals Humbert, Watteau, and Menage. An attack was made along the sea coast, where the English gun-boats kept up so galling a fire that the assailants were on the point of retreating, when, to their great astonishment, the tricoloured flag was seen flying on the top of the fort. This change was effected by a division of three hundred men under Menage, who, marching up to their waists in water, through a tempestuous sea, and climbing from rock to rock, had reached the fortrefs, scaled the walls, and, perhaps assisted by the treachery of the garrison, made themselves masters of it, after putting all who resisted to the sword.

Nothing now remained to impede the attack of the republicans on the remaining force of the royalists. The Chouans, with M. de Puyfaye at their head, had embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, and were carried

carried to other parts of La Vendée, where they dispersed themselves among their friends. The emigrants, headed by the young Comte de Sombreuil, protected the reembarkation of the aged men, women, and children, who had attended the expedition, and then prepared to sell their lives as dearly as possible. A portion of their force had already laid down their arms and gained the republican ranks, protesting that they had only joined the royalists through compulsion; Hoche was rapidly advancing, and had obliged Sombreuil and his followers to retreat to an isolated rock, whence many threw themselves into the sea, and perished in a vain effort to reach the shipping. The remainder were preparing for resistance, when they were summoned to capitulate, and induced to lay down their arms on a promise that their lives should be spared. Such a promise, however, availed them but little, when the performance of it depended on Hoche and Tallien; men utterly divested of all feeling of humanity, and particularly inflamed against the emigrants, whom Hoche had sworn to exterminate if ever they landed on the soil of France. They were tried by a military commission, who doomed them to be shot; a sentence which was executed on all who were captured, clergy as well as laity, and on young Sombreuil himself, notwithstanding his animated protestations against the illegality, the dishonour, the worse than barbarism, of such a proceeding. Hoche and Tallien attempted to

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CHAP. XVIII justify themselves from the charges of this young hero; but their apology, far from convincing the impartial, 1795. does not seem to be much relied on even by republican writers.

After this disaster, Charette, Stofflet, and de Puyfaye, vainly endeavoured to excite the Vendéans to new efforts; they could raise no more than eighteen hundred men, who were speedily dispersed. De Puyfaye was obliged to quit the country; Charette and Stofflet, after maintaining a hard conflict at the head of a few followers, and harassing perpetually the armies of the republic, were finally defeated, taken prisoners, and shot at Nantes, in pursuance of the verdict of a military commission. The British armament remained on the coast so long as a probability appeared of serving the cause in which they were employed: they failed in an attempt on Noirmoutier, but captured l'isle d'Yeu, an acquisition of no importance in itself, but of considerable use in keeping up the alarms of the republicans, and obliging them to maintain all along the coast a great body of troops, always on the alert, and always uncertain in what direction they should be called upon to act. At length the French government having again conciliated the insurgents, and 31st Dec. formed a new treaty of peace, the British fleet retired to its own shores*.

* See Histoire, par deux Amis, vol. XIV. p. 80 to 128; Desadoards, vol. VI.; Vie de Hoche, vol. I. p. 249; and Gazettes, and debates in the British parliament.

Before the termination of this transaction, the convention had given to France a new social compact, and ceased to exist. The insurrections in favour of the constitution of 1793, supported as they were by the vilest and most sanguinary of mankind, had rendered that code odious; no man could avow a predilection for it without being included in the list of terrorists, and no one could profess a desire to restore the first constitution while all parties in the nation united in expressions of abhorrence and dread of royalty. This was the state of mind in which the convention wished to see the public; and to effect this object they had permitted the late commotions to gain so great an ascendancy, and tolerated acts which must inevitably occasion bloodshed. Divided as they were into knots of factions who mutually hated each other, and daily employed in stigmatising acts in which they had but a year before slavishly concurred, they could not hope to gain the public opinion in their favour, and therefore sought only to establish their authority by force while they manufactured a new constitutional code, and prepared for the seizure of all offices of trust and profit, and even of the remains they intended to leave of popular representation, for the benefit of creatures of their own. In execution of the decree for disarming the agents of terror, they exercised a new system of domiciliary visitation, both in the capital and the departments; and even in
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CHAP. XVIII. 8th & 11th the convention they silenced by terror
 August. many of their opponents, and put others in
 1795. a state of arrest*.

Having by such means removed all fear of opposition in the legislature, the ruling party announced that they had completed the constitution, and were prepared to submit it to the people in primary assemblies. The new code was in every respect less calculated to produce happiness, freedom, or respectability, than that of 1793; it left neither the rude

* Among the number thus made to taste the cup of tyrannic cruelty which they had so often forced to the lips of others, was Lequinio, one of the most sanguinary and atheistical of all those who profaned the names of reason and philosophy, by making them the pretext for every species of crime, however revolting to nature or the principles of humanity. He was accused on facts demonstrated to be true by his own correspondence while on mission at Rochfort, l'Orient, Brest, La Rochelle, and La Vendée; of thefts and cruelties committed in those departments; of having daily eaten and drunk with the executioners, whom he named *the avengers of the people*; of having, by the produce of his rapine, paid his debts, purchased lands, settled large sums on his brother, formerly a monk at Vannes; of having made the guillotine a tribune for harangues; of having with his own hand blown out the brains of prisoners; and of having forced infants to trample on the gore of their butchered parents. His imprisonment was not, however, in fact, owing to any of these enormities, but to a suspicion that he was intriguing against the ruling party; and so little horror was excited by his crimes, that he was included in a decree of amnesty passed in the ensuing year. See Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans, art. Lequinio.

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vigour of a system entirely republican, nor the rapid energy of one absolutely despotic; it provided a ground for perpetual disputes between those who acquired or aimed at power, and those who, under pretext of loving liberty, solicited popularity; and it was easy to perceive, that under its influence, government must be totally relaxed, or depend for its tone on military force and clandestine artifices alone. This constitution has been ably investigated by many writers; and the history of its operations, and the conduct of men professing to be guided by its letter and spirit, will form the best practical proof of its folly and atrocity; yet it will not be an useless labour to give a brief view of its principles.

The new code, like all others which had been proposed, was ushered in by a declaration of the rights of man, which was in substance similar to those in preceding constitutions, but limited or weakened by ambiguous and qualifying terms, as in the following instances: "Those who solicit, expedite, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, *arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be punished*"—"The sovereignty resides *essentially in the universality of citizens.*" The declaration of rights contained many sentences equally doubtful in their construction, and they were rendered still more so by a declaration of duties, which placed every right in subserviency to the law, and declared all breakers of the law at war with society, and all who eluded without infringing it unworthy of benevolence

CHAP. volence or esteem ; principles calculated to serve as a
 XVIII. basis for any species of military tyranny, and to hold
 1795. in perpetual terror all men whose actions could by
 any construction be deemed evasive of laws which
 it could not be proved that the individuals had
 broken.

The republic was declared *one and indivisible*—and
 in the foolish jargon of the revolution it was said the
universality of French citizens is the sovereign. In
 describing the departments into which the republic
 one and indivisible was divided, several which had
 been acquired by fraud or conquest, as l'Aveyron
 and Le Mont-Blanc, and some which were at that
 period in the hands of powers at war with France, as
 Martinique and Pondicherry, were included. This
 arrogant pretension to retain conquests, but to re-
 nounce no rights in favour of conquerors, may be
 justified by those who admit no reasoning against the
 decrees of fortune, and think all proceedings just and
 wise which are ultimately successful ; but no argument
 which could be advanced at the moment could
 operate as a justification. The presumption of the
 30th Sept. declaration was rendered still more striking
 when the convention decreed the incorpora-
 tion of Belgium with the republic, and made it,
 equally with the ancient territories of the nation, an
 integral and indivisible part of their dominion.

Every man born and resident, who, after the age of
 twenty-one, should have inscribed his name in a civic
 register,

register, and afterwards lived a year on the territory of the republic, and paid a direct contribution, or who had made a campaign for the establishment of the republic without paying any contribution, was declared a French citizen. Foreigners acquired the same rights by residing in France seven years after making a declaration of an intention to settle there, provided they paid a direct contribution, possessed a real property or agricultural or commercial establishment, or married a French woman. The rights of citizenship were lost by naturalisation in a foreign country; affiliation with any foreign corporation which supposed distinction of birth, or required religious vows; by accepting functions or pensions from a foreign government; or by condemnation to corporal or infamous punishment. These rights were suspended in the persons of madmen, bankrupts, and their heirs who retained their property, hired servants, those under accusation, or under sentence of contumacy; and a citizen residing seven successive years out of the territory of the republic without mission or leave, was to be reputed a foreigner. No man could be inscribed on the civic register so as to obtain the title of citizen unless he could read, write, and exercise a mechanical or agricultural profession; but, in favour of the present generation, a proviso was added, that this article should not operate till the twelfth year of the republic.

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Primary assemblies were to be composed of citizens domiciliated in the same canton, in number four hundred at least, and nine hundred at most; no one was to appear in arms, and the validity of their operations was to be referred to the legislative body alone. These assemblies were to accept or reject the constitution proposed to them, and to make the elections which belonged to them in virtue of its decrees. They were to meet in full right on the 21st of March in every year, to elect, as occasion might require, members of electoral assemblies, a justice of peace and assessors, and a president of the municipal administration of cantons. Immediately after these elections, communal assemblies were to be held in communes of less than five thousand inhabitants, to choose agents and assistants: all elections were to be made by secret ballot.

Each primary assembly was to nominate one elector in about two hundred citizens to vote in electoral assemblies, to which no man was competent who besides the qualifications necessary to a French citizen did not possess property or a valuable lease, equivalent to the produce of a hundred and fifty, or, in some cases, two hundred, days' labour. The assemblies were to meet on the 9th of April in each year, to terminate in ten days, and in that time to elect members of the legislative body, the court of annulment, high jurors, administrators of departments
officer

officers of the criminal and judges of the civil tribunal. They were strictly prohibited from discussing subjects foreign to these elections, and from corresponding with other electoral assemblies.

The legislative body was to be composed of a council of elders and a council of five hundred, the members of which could hold no public function save that of archivist of the republic. They were not representatives of the body which nominated them, but of the whole nation, and subject to no injunctions : they were to be annually renewed by thirds ; but members who had gone out were re-eligible, unless they had retained their seats six years, in which case they could not be re-elected for the space of two years. Each body had a right of police over its own members, but could not pronounce a more severe sentence than censure, arrest for eight days, or imprisonment for three. The sittings were to be public ; the votes generally taken by sitting and rising up ; but in cases of *appel nominal*, the votes of individuals were to be secret. Each member of either council was allowed an annual stipend of the value of six hundred and thirteen quintals and thirty-two pounds of wheat ; the executive power was not to cause any body of troops to pass or stop within twelve leagues of the commune where the councils were sitting, and the legislative body was to be guarded by at least fifteen hundred men from the national guard.

The members of the council of five hundred were,
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CHAP. for the present, to be admitted at twenty-five years of
 XVIII. age, but after the year seven of the republic they
 1795. could not sit unless they were thirty. They were to
 propose laws, which were to be read three times at
 intervals of ten days, and printed and distributed two
 days before the second reading; those which were
 rejected could not be re-proposed in less than a year,
 but propositions recognised as urgent were exempt
 from these regulations. Propositions approved by
 the council of five hundred were to be transmitted to
 the elders, under the title of resolutions.

The council of elders, or ancients, was composed of
 two hundred and fifty men, aged at least forty,
 married or widowers, and domiciliated in the republic
 during the preceding fifteen years. They were to
 approve or reject the resolutions of the council of five
 hundred, and, like them, to read the laws three times
 at intervals of five days; and resolutions rejected by
 them could not be re-introduced till after the expira-
 tion of a year. They were prohibited from partial
 rejections; they must either sanction or reject resolu-
 tions *in toto*. In them was vested the power of
 changing the place of sitting of the legislative body.
 The members of both councils were guaranteed from
 examination, accusation, or trial, at any time, for
 what they might have said or written in exercise of
 their functions; nor could they be brought to an
 trial from the moment of their nomination till thirty
 days after the expiration of their functions. They
 might

might, however, for criminal acts, be seized, *flagrante delicto*; but notice must be given without delay to the legislative body, and the prosecution could not be continued till the council of five hundred had proposed, and the elders decreed, that the offender should be brought to trial. The votes were to be by *appel nominal* and secret ballot; and the high court of justice alone could sit in judgment on them, whether in cases of *flagrans delictum*, or of treason, dilapidation, manœuvres to overturn the constitution, or offences against the internal security of the republic. The vote of accusation suspended the offender from his functions, the acquittal of the high court restored him.

The executive power was delegated to a directory of five members, nominated by the legislative body, performing the functions of an electoral assembly in the name of the nation. The council of five hundred was to form, by secret ballot, a list of ten times the numbers of the directory to be nominated, and present it to the council of elders, who were to choose, by secret ballot also, out of the list. The members of the directory must be forty years of age at least, and could not be taken but from among citizens who had been members of the legislative body or ministers. The directory was to be partially renewed, by the election of a new member, every year. During the first four years, the successive going out of those nominated the first time to be decided by lot. None of
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CHAP. XVIII. the members going out to be re-elected till after an interval of five years. The ascendants and descendants
 1795. in direct line; the brothers, uncles, and nephews, cousins in the first degree, and connections by marriage in the same degrees, could not be members of the directory at the same time, nor succeed one another in it till after an interval of five years. Each member of the directory to be president in turn, for three months only. The president to sign, and keep the seal. The directory not to deliberate, unless three members present. A secretary (not one of the members) was to countersign dispatches, and draw up the deliberations in a register, in which each member might enter his opinion, with his reasons. The directory was to provide, according to law, for the external or internal security of the republic; make proclamations conformable to the laws, and for the execution of them; to dispose of the armed force, but no one of them could command it till two years after the expiration of his functions. The directory might issue warrants of summons or arrest against the presumed authors of conspiracies or accomplices; interrogate them; nominate generals in chief; superintend and assure the execution of laws in the administration and tribunals, by commissaries of its own nomination appoint and dismiss ministers, who were to be six at least, or eight at most; the ministers were not to form a council, and were responsible both for the non-execution of laws, and the non-execution of orders.

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The directory also nominated the receiver of direct taxes in each department; the superintendants in chief of indirect contributions, and of the administration of national domains; and all the public functionaries in the French republic.

No member of the directory could quit the territory of the republic till two years after the cessation of his functions; and they were bound, during that interval, to prove their residence to the legislative body. The accounts and information demanded of them by either council to be furnished in writing; and they were bound, every year, to present to both councils, in writing, an estimate of the expences, the situation of the finances, the state of existing pensions, and the plan of those which were to be established or created, and to point out all abuses that had come within their knowledge. They might at all times, by writing, invite the council of five hundred to take a subject into consideration, and propose to it measures, but not plans drawn up in form of laws. No member of the directory to absent himself more than five days, or remove above eight leagues from the place of residence appointed for them, without being authorized by the legislative body.

To the directory were assigned peculiar dresses, without which they were never to appear in the exercise of their functions; they had guards, precedence in public ceremonies; military honours, messengers

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 fengers of state, a residence at the expence of the re-
 public, and an annual salary equivalent to 10,222
 quintals of wheat.

The constitution regulated the administrative and municipal bodies, fixed the judicial power, directed the administration of justice to be gratuitous, appointed juries in criminal cases somewhat similar to the grand and petty juries in England, but directed their votes to be taken by secret ballot, and provided a tribunal of annulment. The public force was divided into the national guard, sedentary and in activity.

For public instruction, primary schools were established, but the republic provided only for the lodging of the instructors; and superior schools, at the rate of one for two departments. A national institute was also appointed, charged to collect discoveries, and improve the arts and sciences for the whole republic.

The remaining chapters regulated the finances, the national treasury, the external relations of the state, and provided means for revising the constitution. Under the head general dispositions, religious vows were forbidden; the liberty of the press was acknowledged, but publishers subjected to responsibility; freedom of worship was allowed, but the state paid for no establishment, nor could individuals be compelled to contribute towards any; domiciliary visits were forbidden, except in virtue of some law, and for a
 perform

person or object expressly stated within the act; no assembly of citizens was to call itself a popular society, or correspond or affiliate with any other, or hold public sittings, or impose conditions of admission, or arrogate rights of exclusion, or make its members wear external marks of association; assemblages armed or unarmed might be dispersed by force if necessary, and no man was to wear distinctive dresses calling to mind functions formerly exercised, or services performed; the public functionaries and members of the legislative bodies alone were to be so distinguished.

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Finally, the constitution declared, that the nation would in no case suffer the return of the French, who having abandoned their country since the 15th of July, 1789, were not comprehended in the exceptions made to the laws against emigrants; and interdicted the legislative body from creating new exceptions upon this point. The property of emigrants was irrevocably confiscated to the benefit of the republic. The French nation proclaimed also, as guarantee of the public faith, that after an adjudication legally completed of national property, whatever might have been its origin, the legitimate holder could not be dispossessed of it; but a person reclaiming it might, if there were reason, be indemnified by the national treasury: and they committed the deposit of the present constitution to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the executive directory, of the administrators and judges; to the vigilance of fathers of families; to

wives and to mothers ; to the affection of the young citizens, and to the courage of all the French*.

The prevalence of terror and general suppression of public spirit occasioned this constitution, with all its faults, to be almost immediately accepted by the people in primary assemblies ; at least such was the report given to the convention, and no one was found courageous enough to contradict it within those walls. But a different fate attended a tyrannical decree of the legislature obliging the electoral assemblies to re-elect two thirds of the members of the new councils, from those members of the existing legislative body who were *in activity* ; a phrase which was explained to mean, all but those against whom decrees of accusation or arrest had been issued. Considering how much the convention had been reduced in number by proscriptions, executions, and decrees of different kinds, it must be perceived that this new edict compelled the people of France to re-elect almost the whole of a body whose baseness, ignorance, venality, and cruelty, had already exposed them to general contempt and detestation. In vain were attempts made to cajole the

* The analysis of this constitution is given at unusual length, because it shews a complete departure from the vaunted system of republican equality ; and because it was the only one which was fairly submitted to the test of experience. For the constitution see Debrett's State Papers, vol. IV. p. 1, and the periodical works ; Histoire, par deux Amis, vol. XIII. p. 278 : for some striking reflections on it, see Necker on the Revolution, vol. II. part III. sections IV. and V.

people by an address, reminding them of their past achievements in the cause of liberty; exhorting them not to look back to the shore from which they had started (meaning tranquillity and royalty); affirming that if the people were tired of revolutions they were not so of liberty; and admonishing them against attempting new revolutions, while the termination of their disasters could only be found in finishing that which was already commenced. In vain were they promised the blessings which would await a government, free without licentiousness, and strong without despotism*; the manifest tyranny of the new regulation, the mockery of an election permitted on such terms, were too obvious and too disgusting to be rendered palatable by any artifices, or explained away by any sophistry. The majority of the sections of Paris expressed abhorrence of this act of power, which, to use their own phrase, limited the sovereignty of the people; the bar of the convention resounded with daily petitions; the journalists contended against it with unusual vehemence; the writers of pamphlets, the street orators, and those who were in the habit of haranguing the sections, increased by their efforts the agitation of the public. The section called after Lepelletier was the centre of these exertions, but all men, except the immediate dependents of govern-

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* See this decree and address, Histoire, par deux Amis, vol. XIII. p. 347.

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ment, seemed to partake in the popular feeling, founded, as it really was, on truth and justice. The convention, however, maintained their point with the clumsy dexterity of men determined to succeed, and careless of the opinion of mankind on the grossness of their fraud: they pretended that there was no ground for the primary assemblies to discuss the obnoxious decrees; they formed a part of the constitution, and in accepting the one, they had of course sanctioned the other.

Such a miserable sophism was not calculated to convince the people, or to suppress their indignation; but the convention was indifferent to opinion, and thought themselves sufficiently powerful to resist the effects of popular resentment. They felt the good consequences of their former artifices in permitting popular commotions to gain a certain height, and then assuming a merit for repressing them, and in creating an antipathy and dread of the royalists and terrorists, while they were to be considered as the only safe refuge from both. They knew, it is said, a month beforehand, that an insurrection would take place on the subject of the compulsory elections, but connived at all preparations, and even secretly encouraged the publication of different plans for restoring royalty, in the person of Louis XVIII., the descendant of the duke of Orleans, and even of the duke of York; while on the other hand, proposals were made with equal boldness for imprisoning all the patriots, and
sacrificing

sacrificing all who had any share in the acts of government during the reign of terror. These artifices made many quiet and selfish persons who dreaded nothing so much as the personal danger they must incur in a new revolution, carry their weight to the side of the legislature. Encouraged by their aid, and convinced that no cordial co-operation could be expected between parties who concurred in nothing but their abhorrence of the new system of usurpation, the convention drew round Paris a considerable armed force, and began to develop the principles of terror and violence on which the new government was to act, by decreeing, that all fathers, sons, brothers, uncles, nephews, and husbands, of emigrants, and the relations of these in the same degree, all non-juring priests, and all of that order who had retracted or modified their oaths, should be deprived of all administrative, municipal, and judicial functions.

The opponents of the legislature were not without great resources and military leaders of considerable talents, but the disarming of the fauxbourgs and the terror inspired throughout Paris operated powerfully against them. On the 29th of September, commissioners from the majority of the ^{29th Sept.} sections of Paris attended the convention to express the wishes of their constituents, but were not admitted; their petition was published, and contained many strong truths which the legislature must have heard in silence from inability to answer them, but they

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they decreed that all citizens who in future attended the central committee of the sections should be deemed guilty of a crime against the nation. The opponents of the obnoxious decrees saw without alarm, the collection of an army for the express purpose of defending the convention, and batteries with artillery prepared for their reception at all the avenues to the Tuilleries. Their cause was, for the first time in the whole course of the revolution, perfectly just, and qualified to gain new proselytes from the most impartial investigation. Their information on the state of the conventional force was probably very correct, and they had ascertained that no *French* general of reputation could be found who would undertake to imbrue his hands in the blood of his fellow-citizens, petitioning for an undoubted right, and resisting an indefensible oppression.

General Danican was the chief military leader in the popular cause; he had commanded an army in La Vendée, in the years 1793 and 1794, and displayed his humanity at the risk of his life, by decrying the system of cruelty pursued in that unhappy department, and recommending to the convention the punishment of those who contrived the *noyades*. He was deprived of his command in the days of Robespierre, restored by the new government, and again, in the present crisis, threw up his commission at the head of his brigade, and declared in favour of the people.

The

The moment of completing the compulsory return, or pretended election of two thirds of the existing legislature, was chosen for that of contest between the usurping convention and the people. Despairing of support from officers of character, the government party surrounded themselves with all the exploded and unemployed agents of the system of terror. The assassins of September, 1792, and all who by the re-action in the departments had been deprived of bread and character as terrorists, were drawn from the recesses of ignominy, honoured with commands, and promised countenance under the new constitution; while generals Menou and Raffet, the last officers of reputation on that side, resigned their situations. The convention, strengthened by this body-guard of assassins, secured by the formidable preparation of artillery, possessed of all the positions necessary for the destruction of the citizens, and even of the city, masters of all the circumjacent country, and enabled to prevent the arrival of subsistence, to deprive their opponents even of a morsel of bread, had no fears of the event, save those which arose from the possibility of the soldiery being induced to participate in the sentiments of their officers, and refuse to murder the people in the exercise of that faculty of deliberation and remonstrance which they had so long been taught to regard as a right.

As the best means of eluding this alarming contingency, they had recourse to those calumnies which they

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they knew so well the art of using, and towards the success of which they had already taken such effectual measures. The popular party were reviled as conspirators, royalists, Chouans, rebels, Vendéans, agents of Pitt, friends of Cobourg, emissaries of Charette, and stigmatised with all the other common-place reproaches which were constantly employed against those whom the government was inclined to defame, and never employed without effect. Barras, who had been so successful in raising a force to oppose Herriot in the definitive struggle between the convention and Robespierre, and whose ambition had since gradually augmented, till he was enabled to aim at the very highest station in the republic, obtained the command of the forces to be employed against the people. In the choice of subordinate agents he shewed sufficient judgment for the conducting of a wicked cause. For the chief command, foreigners were selected; under them were employed officers whose characters were thoroughly infamous; blood was to be shed, negotiation avoided, and all attempts at reasoning or procuring pacification answered only by shouts of *vive la convention!*

On this occasion an individual started forth from the recesses of obscurity, whose name has since eclipsed all that was celebrated in the revolution, whose good fortune has elevated him to a superiority over the country where he was then in want of bread, and whose power, bad-faith, inordinate ambition, and ferocious

ferocious cruelty, have brought destruction and desolation into three quarters of the globe. Napoleone Buonaparte was a native of Corfica, educated at the college of Autun, and afterwards at the military school at Brienne, where he was supposed to have made great progress in the science of fortification and the business of an engineer. In the course of the revolution he was often employed in different expeditions; but his situation was obscure, his exertions unnoticed, and his character suspected on account of his known friendship for Paoli. This circumstance obliged him to leave the army, and he was residing in indigence at a short distance from Toulon, when that place was in possession of the English: Salicetti, the deputy on mission with the republican army, having some acquaintance with Buonaparte, recommended him to his colleague Barras, and he was employed during the siege with the rank of *chef de brigade*. The cruelties which followed the surrender of Toulon were in part attributed to him, and at the latter end of 1794 he was arrested at Nice as a terrorist; but as it was impossible to prosecute all the subordinate agents in those disgraceful scenes, he was released; and on his return to Paris, failing in his efforts to procure employ, was reduced to extreme distress and penury. In this desperate situation he was again recommended to the notice of Barras, drawn forth from his place of concealment, and invested with the command of the artillery, to be employed

CHAP. employed in murdering and subjugating the people of
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On the night preceding that which was to decide the fate of the new constitution, the two parties drew out their forces under circumstances widely different. The soldiers of the convention were well armed, long disciplined, amply supplied with ammunition, and drilled into unanimity: the insurgents were deprived of the greater part of their arms in consequence of the late insurrections, they had no artillery, and but a small supply of ammunition for their muskets; they had never seen any military service, and so far from being unanimous in any political sentiment, save that which occasioned their momentary combination, that it was judged expedient to avoid every discussion, and every allusion to general affairs, and limit their demands and their rallying word to the simple proposition of a free election, and no compulsory return of the two thirds. The individuals who appeared in this insurrection were not, as on former occasions, the refuse of villainy and infamy, the dregs of the suburbs, and the sweepings of gaols; but their decent appearance, and carefulness in attire, exposed them to the ridicule of their adversaries, who contemptuously enquired whether a successful insurrection had ever been conducted by gentlemen with powdered heads and silk stockings?

Danican, feeling the insufficiency of his force for a
manual

manual contest, was anxious to avoid hostilities, and spent great part of the night in haranguing the troops of the convention and attempting to persuade them, that, as fellow-citizens, the cause of the people was their own also. He found great difficulty in making himself heard, amid the persevering cry of *vive la convention!* which the battalions on duty were instructed to vociferate: many hot-headed men of his own party were eager to engage; and the friends of the convention were desirous of hostilities, as sure means of establishing their own power, and repressing all future exertions to counteract their unwarrantable assumption of authority. Danican did not, however, neglect other precautions suitable to his situation, and by his efforts in the course of the night, his adherents were placed in a more respectable position than their numbers or their force had appeared to promise: several of the sections, summoned by missionaries from the convention to lay down their arms, had returned a resolute refusal; and the dread lest the soldiery should be persuaded to decline firing on the people, rendered the stronger party uneasy, though they persevered in their original determination to try the utmost extremes of blood, fire, and famine, rather than recede.

The troops of the convention were reinforced during the night by twenty-thousand men from the country; the generals who were suspected

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spected of an inclination to avoid the effusion of blood were changed for others, incapable of remorse or shame; the troops were intrenched, and the best positions secured. The primary assemblies were convened in the section of Le Pelletier, but the sanguine confidence of some, and the treacherous insinuations of others, bore down the prudent counsel of Danican; and it was resolved to attack the troops of government in their strong hold, not from the expectation of success in a regular conflict, but from a blind hope and foolish confidence that the military would not fire on the people. The line of defence occupied by the convention extended from the Pont-neuf along the quays on the right bank of the Seine to the Champs Elysées, and was continued to the boulevards. The people were masters of the rue St. Honoré, the Place de Vendôme, St. Roch, and the Place du Palais Royal; but they were without order or a common point of action, and the nature of the insurrection had rendered it impossible to establish any. The convention, pursuing the system they had so often before tried with success, wasted a great portion of the day in sending deputies to harangue the sections, and in receiving and discussing propositions of peace; but during the whole time thus gained, they were employed in reinforcing their positions, adding to their supplies, and raising the spirits of their troops. They knew that the insurrection must grow languid towards the evening,

evening, especially as those engaged in it had been exposed during the whole day, and part of the preceding night, to a storm with a torrent of rain. Their scheme was attended with complete success; fervent debates in the convention, messages, and an equivocating letter from the committees to Danican, kept the people employed in debate instead of action during the day; but as evening approached, when the general of the insurgents was preparing to withdraw his troops in separate portions each to its own arrondissement, the forces of the convention changed their position, the post of citizens at St. Roch was fired upon from a house in the cul-de sac Dauphin, and the scene of carnage was begun. The citizens made at first some resistance, but the artillery swept the streets in every direction, and the insurgents, neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently desperate to rush forward and seize the cannon, retreated in every direction, concealing themselves in houses and under gateways, and finally in the church of St. Roch, while great numbers fled from the spot crying Treason, and spreading alarm and despair in every direction. All the barricades erected to oppose the progress of the troops of government were beat down by cannon; every expedient for resistance failed; and the insurgents being dispersed, and Danican himself obliged to ensure his safety by concealment, the convention remained victorious, and during the whole night repeated discharges of cannon

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non announced their triumph, and prevented any new congregation of their opponents *. At the opening of the session of the legislature on the ensuing morning, Barras completed his task by announcing that the convention had no longer any enemies. The number of slain is not ascertained, but it appears that in *la rue St. Honoré* alone, two hundred and twenty-eight persons fell †.

A military commission was established for the trial of offenders, and about forty were convicted on appearance or for contumacy; some were executed, and others put in prison. The election, or rather nomination, of the executive directory and councils of state proceeded without interruption; and the convention finished its odious reign loaded with more contempt, and pursued by more general hatred, than either of the legislative bodies which preceded.

The general character of this body, at once contemptible and formidable, atrociously wicked and abjectly mean, cannot be given but by a distinct re-

* This is called by the French the insurrection of *Le treize Vendémiaire*.—The date in the Christian calendar forcibly brings to mind the insurrection of the 5th of October, 1789, and reads an awful lesson to kings circumstanced as Louis XVI. then was.

† The account of these transactions is taken from the *Histories* by Defadoards, vol. VI. ; par deux Amis, vol. XIII. ; Prud'homme, vol. VI. ; and *Les Brigands démasqués* par Auguste Danican, the general who commanded the insurgents.

vision of its acts, which, in government, religion, finance, jurisprudence, and warfare, exhibit but one principle;—a resolute pursuit of a given object, with a total disregard of the opinions of mankind (except as they might be rendered useful), and a contempt of all established or avowed principles of morality or good faith. Low and ignorant men suddenly possessed of all the wealth, strength, and resources of a mighty nation, could not, without a peculiar mixture of ferocity and wickedness, have committed the acts which stigmatized the convention, nor could the mighty energies which they aroused and guided have been directed to so few purposes of real national good, but for the folly which generally accompanies extreme wickedness, and renders the triumph of villainy bitter, even in the most ardent moment of enjoyment.

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To renew the horror of the reader by displaying the overthrow of the monarchy and the church, would be an unavailing task: on such subjects men who really feel as the occasion requires, derive no new impulse from elaborate details; those whose opinions are guided in a contrary direction, discern only new motives of triumph in the regret of their opponents. The extraordinary prodigality of the convention is little understood, because the mass of national domain which they squandered away is seldom properly appreciated. On this subject Necker * thus

* On the Revolution, vol. II. p. 2.

expresses

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expresses himself: "The disorder of its thoughts, the confusion of its principles, and the numerous speculations of its agents, may be estimated by observing the result of its government. Its predecessors had seized the property of the clergy for the nation. This assembly disengaged their booty from every kind of incumbrance, by refusing to pay the expences of public worship, and the pensions promised to the ecclesiastics. To this first property, it added at once the estates and personals of the emigrants; and by the interpretation of the word *emigrants*, extended its confiscations indefinitely. Thus finally the assembly boasts to have at its disposal from eight to ten milliards of the property of others; and continuing its invasions, it diminishes the public expences by forcibly retrenching a fifth of the interest due to the creditors of the state. Observe that these eight to ten milliards are not in the new money, but of the ancient valuation in good old times of Louis and of crowns. Never since the creation of the world, never was such a property added to the annual taxes, in the power of any government. The riches of Solomon, the treasures of the Mogul, the spoils of Tamerlane and of Gengis Khan, were nothing compared to such a booty, to such vast spoils. Heap together in imagination all the money of France in its happiest days, and all the money of Europe, then double the whole, and you will have the value of from eight to ten milliards. Who then will not start with astonishment at beholding

beholding this prodigious capital entirely consumed ; at seeing the public treasury in a state of bankruptcy, after having issued assignats, in their nominal amount infinitely superior to the real value of this capital which they represent? It is not then astonishing that France, a country so fertile, so favoured by nature, should enjoy no credit in its transactions. This is the first effect of an imprudent or despised administration.”

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The general abstract of the acts of the convention, and the effects of its existence, is thus detailed by Prud'homme *. Its sittings continued thirty-seven months and four days, during which time 11,210 laws were enacted, and 360 conspiracies and 140 insurrections denounced: 18,613 persons were put to death by the guillotine. The civil war at Lyons cost 31,200 men; that at Marseilles 729. At Toulon 14,325 were destroyed; and in the re-actions in the south, after the fall of Robespierre, 750 individuals perished. The war in La Vendée is computed to have caused the destruction of 900,000 men, and more than 20,000 dwellings. Impressed with images of terror, 4790 persons committed suicide; and 3400 women died in consequence of premature deliveries: 20,000 are computed to have died of famine, and 1550 were driven to insanity. In the colonies

* Histoire des Erreurs, &c. vol. VI. p. 512.; and Tableau Général.

CHAP. 124,000 white men, women and children, and 60,000
XVIII. people of colour, were massacred; 2 towns, and 3200
1795. habitations, were burnt. The loss of men in the war
is estimated, though probably below the real truth,
at 800,000; while 123,789, who had emigrated in
the course of the revolution, were now for ever ex-
cluded from the country.

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Mode of appointing the Executive Directory—Characters of the First Directors—Roubeil—Lareveilliere Lepaux—Carnot—Letourneur—Barras—Ministry appointed—View of the Campaign of 1795—State of the Armies of France and the Empire—Luxembourg taken by the French—Jourdan crosses the Rhine and takes Dusseldorf—Pichegru also crosses, and takes Manheim—He is defeated by Wurmser—Jourdan defeated by Clerfaye—The French compelled to raise the Siege of Mentz—Manheim retaken—The Austrians prevented from reaching Luxembourg—Campaign in Italy—Position of the opposing Armies—The Austrians expelled from Campo de Pietri—Battle of Loano—The Austrians expelled from sundry Places—Reinforced during the Winter—Armistice concluded—The Miseries of the Armies, occasioned by the deranged State of Finances—Proclamation of the Directory—Party formed in the Council of Ancients—Motion for a Supply rejected, but afterwards granted—Usurpation of new Powers by the Directory—Their Treatment of M. Carletti, Minister from Tuscany—Decree for observing the 21st of January—Decree of Deportation against Magistrates who did not take the Oath of Hatred to Royalty—Mes-

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sages respecting the Army and Navy—The Councils pass to the Order of the Day on the Propositions of the Directory—Proposal for a forced Loan in Specie—which is voted—but not contributed—Proposal for a new Paper Currency, to be called Mandats Territoriaux—Proclamation of the Directory—Rescriptions issued—Message for a Law to compel the Circulation of the new Paper at the Rate of hard Money—Objections—The Paper rapidly depreciated—The Purchasers of National Domains compelled to pay advanced Prices—The Woods felled, and many Valuables sold for a low Price—New Taxes—and many fraudulent Devices for raising Money—Heavy Contributions levied on the Dutch—Laws against the Liberty of the Press—Jacobins in many of the Public Offices—Jealousy of the other Party—Disputes between Freron and Isnard—The Jacobins lose Ground—Conspiracy of Babœuf and Drouet—The Directory apprised of it—Seize the Parties—Commission appointed for trying them—Drouet escapes—Conduct of Babœuf—New Conspiracy—Attack on the Camp at Grenelle—Fails—Many of the Insurgents captured—Tried by a military Commission—Sentenced to Imprisonment, Deportation, and Death—Execution of Babœuf.

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1795. **T**HE first persons to whom, in compliance with the forms of the constitution, the supreme authority over the dominions of France was entrusted, were Rewbell, Lareveilliere Lepaux, Carnot, Letourneur

neur de la Manche, and Barras. The nomination of these five men was an early specimen of the system of government to be pursued under the new constitution. The council of five hundred had indeed, according to the letter of the law, presented to that of ancients a list of fifty persons for their election; but it was so arranged, in consequence of a previous intrigue, that forty-five of the number were men utterly unknown: a delay was requested in vain, and the election, or rather nomination, was immediately completed*.

John Rewbell was a native of Colmar, bred to the law, and *batonnier de l'ordre des avocats* in the sovereign council of Alsace. In his early years, he had been employed as professional agent for several German princes, who held lands in Alsace; but being returned deputy to represent the tiers-état in 1789, he made a merit of having instituted law-suits against those very princes who had employed him. He attached himself to the most violent party in the assembly, frequently appeared in the tribune to alarm the nation with accounts of pretended conspiracies, and was ever among the most forward in proposing violent and sanguinary measures. Pride, ingratitude, love of power, avarice, and cruelty, seem to have held equal dominion in the soul of this despot. He was distinguished in the convention by all these qualities, and when he was ascending to supreme power, under the new constitu-

* Histoire du Directoire Executif, p. 2.

CHAP. tion, he displayed the atrocity of his principles in a
 XIX. memorable manner. He proposed to levy on Paris
 1795. a forced contribution of sixty millions of livres
 (2,625,000*l.*) within four-and-twenty hours. "You
 mean then," said Carnot, who relates the anecdote,
 "that terror and death should again be the order of
 the day."—"I wish they were so already," answered
 Rewbell; "*I never saw but one fault in Robespierre,
 that of being too lenient.*" This was the man to whom
 the drawing of lots assigned the first presidency of the
 executive directory*.

Louis-Marie Lareveilliere Lepaux was also bred to
 the law, but never followed the profession; he was
 also a deputy to the constituent assembly and to the
 national convention, but never rose above the state of
 insignificance, till, in an unlucky moment of zeal, he
 declared his attachment to the deputies proscribed in
 1793, and was obliged to seek safety in flight. On
 his return to Paris, his attachment to the triumphant
 party raised his importance, and he was, partly by
 accident, partly by intrigue, raised to the directory.
 His person was peculiarly ugly; his visage expressive
 of cowardice and malignity; his back crooked, and
 his whole appearance filthy and deformed. Carnot
 says, "there exists not a greater hypocrite, nor a more

* See *Les Brigands Demasqués*; *Les Cinq Hommes*, a fulsome
 panegyric by Despaze; *Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans*,
 art. Rewbell; the Histories; and Carnot's Reply to Bailleul,
 pp. 150 and 161 of the English translation.

immoral man, than Lareveilliere ; nature, having formed him disgusting to the sight and smell, seems to have cautioned those who approach him of the falsehood and depravity of his heart*.

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The third on the list of directors was Lazare Nicolas Marguerite Carnot †, the son of a lawyer, but bred himself to the profession of arms. He had made a considerable progress as an engineer, and had given some public specimens of his judgment, in literary essays which were well received, when the revolution commenced, and he, like many others, forgetting the debt of gratitude due from him to some members of the royal family, and particularly the prince de Condé, violently espoused the democratic side. Being returned by the department du pas de Calais as deputy to the legislative assembly, he exerted himself in destroying the subordination of the army, in order to favour the views of the violent jacobins, to whom he was cordially attached. In the convention he was always considered a man of blood, and, as one of the members of Robespierre's committee of public safety, he was charged with the war department. This was certainly his proper sphere, and some aver that the success of the republican arms was due to his projects; while others, not without appearance of reason, maintain that he only applied the profuse

* Same authorities, Carnot, p. 134.

† Syeyes was at first returned; but he refused the situation, and Carnot was elected in his stead,

CHAP. powers given to government by the revolution, in
 XIX. executing projects which more profound men had
 1795. planned and deposited in the offices during the reign
 of Louis XIV. The admirable conveyance of troops
 from one army to another, which turned the fate of
 the campaign in 1793, must certainly be allowed to
 have originated with Carnot; but on the other hand,
 the absurd directions to Pichegru, which cost so many
 lives in 1794, could spring only from the folly and
 short-sightedness of the same minister. After the fall
 of Robespierre, Carnot made many efforts to convince
 the public that he had taken no part in the horrors of
 his reign; and as his military talents were still thought
 of consequence, all men admitted, though none were
 deceived by, his apologies. His elevation to the di-
 rectory seemed to open a ray of hope to the furious
 jacobins, while the other directors regarded him with
 terror, distrust, and hatred*.

Antoine-François Louis-Honoré Letourneur de la
 Manche, the fourth person appointed to fill the situa-
 tion of director, was son of a bourgeois at Granville
 in Normandy; and having made rapid progress in
 mathematics, obtained rank as an officer of engineers.
 He was a member of the legislative assembly and of
 the convention, but though attached to the mountain,
 and a deputy on mission with the army of the Eastern

* Same authorities; see particularly his own defence of himself,
 where his hypocrisy and feeble attempts at justification are often
 ludicrous.

Pyrenées, he was not accused of any act of cruelty or personal wickedness. His labours chiefly tended to the advancement of the marine, and the reform of abuses in the army; and those who are most disposed to censure allege little against him but insignificance of character, and the crime of having made some bad verses*.

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Paul-François-Jean-Nicolas de Barras, who completed the number of directors, was entitled to more consideration, not so much on account of his previous acts, as his immediate intrigues and subsequent ascendancy. He was born at Foxemphoux in Provence, of a family noble and ancient to a proverb; and embarking early in a military life, saw some severe service, and underwent considerable perils in India, during the American war. On his return to France, he gave himself up to dissipation, and totally ruined his fortune by gaming and debauchery; he was even, if we may credit Danican, reduced to the ignominious situation of hanger-on at a public gaming table, where, to earn a dirty stipend, he was used to attend, inviting others to play, and sharing the profits of those who were called *greeks*, and in whose mysteries he was no tardy proficient. At the commencement of the revolution, he devoted himself to the duke of Orleans, and, to forward the interests of his patron, became the associate and professed admirer of Marat. Yet his

* Same authorities.

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personal courage elevated him above the infamy of this associate, and he was distinguished as one of the conquerors of the Bastile, and one of the most active assailants of the Tuilleries on the 10th of August, 1792. When the influence of Orleans had declined, and the convention, of which Barras was a member, was split into parties, threatening each other with vengeance and destruction, he had the good fortune to avoid giving offence, or making an injudicious election, by being almost constantly employed on missions. In the south in general, and at Marseilles and Toulon in particular, he shewed a ferocity fully equal to the wishes and views of the mountain; and in a dispatch from the last-mentioned place after it had been regained from the English he made himself conspicuous, by declaring that the galley slaves were the only honest men in the town. Notwithstanding this apparent congeniality with the prevailing principle, Barras was odious to Robespierre, and was supposed to be one of the victims in his list of proscription, on account probably of his friendship for Danton. But this circumstance, which seemed to threaten his destruction, was the cause of his greatness: Barras was deficient in foresight, but not in courage; and when he discerned means of serving a party with whose welfare his own safety was connected, he resolutely headed the troops raised to oppose Henriot, and by his firmness greatly contributed to the success of the day. He was similarly employed in subsequent insurrections of the

the people of Paris, and at length, from being an obscure deputy, and member of a suspicious order, he became a popular and successful candidate for the office of director. Carnot affirms that Barras always retained a predilection for men of noble birth; and this preference might be considered as entitling him to praise, were it not explained to mean that he only courted such as, even under the old government, despised the advantages of their birth*.

All these men agreed in one particular; they had assiduously promoted, and given their suffrages for, the murder of the king; but, in all other respects, they were incapable of cordial union. Attached to all the different parties which had gained ascendancy and been destroyed during the revolution, they hated each other; and nothing but temporary necessity could occasion an appearance of cordiality between Orleanists, Brissotines, and mountaineers, who had a thousand topics of mutual reproach, and not one cause for mutual confidence. They appointed a ministry composed of the following persons: Merlin of Douai, minister of justice; Charles Delacroix, for exterior relations; Gaudin, for finance; Albert Dubayet, minister at war; and Truguet of the marine: but in a month they made Genissieux minister of justice, and placed Merlin at the head of the police.

The contempt and detestation which attended the last days of the convention were favourable to the

* Same authorities; Carnot, p. 154, 163.

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new government, for new it was in name at least, though made up from the shreds and refuse of the body so much hated and despised. Under the influence of military men, it was expected that the war would again be conducted with such vigour as to produce conquest and peace; and as this was now avowed to be the principal wish of the people of France, we shall direct our attention, in the first place, to the late military operations. The campaign of 1795, both on the Rhine and the frontiers of Italy, had not produced events so important as might have been expected: the state of the French finances, the agitations and distractions which embarrassed the government, and the numerous uncertainties attending newly-acquired power, prevented vigorous exertion. France had besides a deeper game of policy to play. The governors affected a spirit of conciliation and a desire of peace, conforming their professions towards foreign nations with the pretended system of moderation and lenity which they had established at home; and thus deluded many powers into a belief that they had carried on war merely on principles of self-defence, and for purposes of security. The successes of the protracted campaign of 1794 had weakened their armies more than their opponents could believe; the necessity of keeping up such a force in Holland as would enable them to carry their schemes of extortion into the fullest effect, weakened their disposable forces for the field, and they had no hopes, until

until peace with Prussia, Spain, and other powers, limited their operations to fewer quarters, of being able to carry on effectual hostilities for another year. The Imperial commanders, on the other hand, were equally weakened and fatigued by the length of the campaign; the cabinet of Austria was divided by jarring and treacherous counsels; and those who were most patriotic in their views for the good of the empire were filled with consternation at the unexpected successes of the French, and the inglorious defection of the king of Prussia.

Jourdan and Pichegru, who still commanded on the Rhine, proceeded, after some unimportant skirmishes, to press the siege of the strong town of Luxembourg, which was garrisoned by ten thousand men under marshal Bender. As no succours could arrive, the marshal capitulated at a more early period than was expected; but obtained for his garrison permission to retire into Germany, on condition of not serving again till exchanged. Mentz alone remained in possession of the Austrians on the left bank of the Rhine; but the republicans were not yet able to spare a sufficient force for the investment.

A long period of inaction ensued, at the end of which the republicans under Jourdan suddenly crossed the Rhine, and attacked Dusseldorf. The Austrians, struck with alarm at the unexpected movement, abandoned the city, and retreated, still harassed by the French, towards the Lahn, where

Clerfaye,

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CHAP. Clerfaye, who commanded this division, was joined
 XIX. by a considerable force.

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20th. Soon after Jourdan had effected the passage
 of the Rhine, Pichegru also passed near Man-
 heim, and having taken that city, the French became
 masters of a sufficient tract of country to undertake
 the siege of Mentz. The Austrians placed their chief
 hopes on a junction to be effected between the armies
 of Clerfaye and Wurmser. To impede this event,

25th. Pichegru gave battle to the latter general, and
 had gained the victory, but his troops having
 dispersed themselves in every direction in quest of
 plunder, and the Austrians having been informed of
 the fact by the peasantry, who justly detested the
 French, the defeated cavalry returned on the late
 victors, and regained the lost advantages of the day,
 killed a great number of men, and drove the remainder
 into Mannheim.

13th Oct. Meanwhile Jourdan, according to a plan
 previously arranged, had crossed the Maine,
 and invested Mentz on the right side of the Rhine;
 but Clerfaye, having received reinforcements, fell sud-
 denly on his rear, captured his artillery, and obliged
 him to raise the blockade, recross the Maine, and
 retreat to Duffeldorf; while his rear was constantly
 harassed by the victorious Imperialists. Pichegru was
 also obliged to retreat to the other side of the Rhine,
 leaving a strong garrison in Mannheim, and hoping to
 reinforce the camp before Mentz sufficiently to resist the

the

the Austrians ; but before he could arrive the attack had been made, the French completely routed, their artillery taken, and they with difficulty enabled to effect a retreat. The victorious armies, having formed a junction, retook the Palatinate, and the greater part of the country between the Rhine and the Moselle : Pichegru effected a junction with Jourdan ; but their utmost efforts could not prevent the recapture of Manheim, though they impeded a project formed by the Imperialists for penetrating to Luxembourg *.

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1795.

Nov.

On the side of Italy, preparation rather than action marked the progress of the year. Scherer had gained some advantages in the straits near the riviere di Ponente ; the peace with Spain gave reason to hope for ample reinforcements ; and the republicans were in possession of all the summits of the Alps, from the borders of the lake of Geneva to the county of Nice. Both parties were occupied in strengthening their positions ; the French at Borghetto and Albenga, their opponents at Dego ; while general Dewins extended his redoubts over the heights which cover Savona and Vado.

Genoa, placed in the centre of hostilities, and whose neutrality had already been violated by the French, was a scene of continual negotiation, and the government was threatened by all parties ; the ports

* Histories and Gazettes.

were

CHAP. were blockaded by an English fleet, and all provisions
XIX. destined for the army of Italy intercepted. The

1795. French, at length, terminated the suspense and danger
in which they were involved, by an attack on the
whole Austrian line, for the purpose of expelling them

from the Genoese territory. This measure
27th Oct. was resolved in a council of war held at

Albenga; and the French were encouraged in their
resolution by a knowledge that the Austrian army had
suffered much through sickness. The grand attack

was preceded by several partial skirmishes,
17th Nov. in one of which generals Augereau and
Chastel expelled the Austrians from the position of
Campo di Pietri, taking five hundred prisoners.

Encouraged by this success, the French
23d. made their grand assault on the Austrian army

in the valley of Loano; and after a contest which
lasted from six in the morning till five in the evening
compelled them to retreat upon Garesio with the loss

of eight thousand men killed and prisoners.

24th. The next day the action was renewed, and
the Austrians were again compelled to retreat towards
Savona and Bagniano: Dewins endeavoured to pre-
vail on the senate of Genoa to deliver into his hands the
fortress of Savona; but on their refusal was obliged
to pass the straits of la Bochetta, to effect his retreat
on the side of Acqui. The French thus obtained pos-
session of La Pietra, Loano, Finale, Vado, and con-
siderable magazines which the Austrians had amassed

in Savona, but their wants or their avidity impelled them to the most wanton and disorderly acts of rapacity. Scherer published a vigorous proclamation for the purpose of restraining their excesses, but the whole country was alarmed and disgusted at their proceedings. They might, but for this unmilitary conduct, have made themselves completely masters of the Apennines; but the emperor sent during the winter a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men, and the court of Turin six thousand, under general Colli, who occupied the most advantageous positions.

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21st Dec.

After many difficulties, an armistice was agreed to on the banks of the Rhine; and though the stipulations were not expressly extended to Italy, the season compelled the observance of a truce in that quarter. Sanguine hopes were entertained by some politicians that a general pacification might be effected; but the French had only a temporary scheme in view, resolving to gratify to the utmost their projects of ambition, and endeavouring to weaken still more the alliance formed against them, by detaching the king of Sardinia from the common cause*.

1796.

31st Jan.

The wants experienced by these two armies resulted from the discredit attached to all the financial operations of the convention, and the new govern-

* Histoire par Defadoards, vol. VI. chap. vi. and vii.

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ment employed its earliest efforts in obtaining such a portion of power as would enable them to remove this embarrassment. The first public act of the directory calculated to restore confidence was a proclamation addressed to the people, professing that the destiny of all republicans should ever remain attached to their own, and that their conduct should be guided by inflexible justice, and the strictest observance of the laws. They promised to wage an active war against royalism, to revive patriotism, repress with a vigorous hand all factions, extinguish all party spirit, annihilate every desire of vengeance, make concord reign, regenerate morals, throw open the sources of fertility, reanimate industry and trade, stifle pecuniary jobbing, give new life to the arts and sciences, re-establish plenty and public credit, restore social order instead of the chaos inseparable from revolutions; and, in fine, procure for the French republic the happiness and glory to which it was entitled. "Such," they observed, "is the task of your governors, and of the executive directory; such shall be the constant theme of their meditations and solitudes."

These pompous promises were not without effect on the minds of those who were prepared to hope and expect great results from the vigour and integrity of a new government, however constituted; but the manner in which the directors had been selected had already occasioned much animosity in the senate, and a party hostile to government was formed in the council

council of ancients. The powers of this new party were felt when, in pursuance of a message from the directory, the council of five hundred voted a supply of three milliards (131,250,000 l.) for the service of the different ministerial departments, and the extraordinary expences. The form of the demand was irregular; and, although the friends of the directors urged many specious arguments in their excuse, the council of ancients rejected the proposition; 7th Nov. though on the ensuing day, when the motion was brought forward in a more regular form, it was voted without difficulty. 1795.

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To counteract this dangerous party, the directory sought to reinforce their authority, by usurping rights inconsistent with the spirit, if not with the letter, of the constitution. An article of the new code obliged all the electoral bodies to complete their returns within ten days: but as many of them had not done so within the appointed time, a debate arose in the council of five hundred to ascertain in whose hands the nominations thus left vacant should be deposited; and it was most absurdly decided that the directory should supply the deficiencies of popular nomination. This resolution was vehemently discussed in the superior council; but although the weight of reasoning was clearly on the side of opposition, and although they added to their arguments many just denunciations of the ruin which must soon overtake a constitution where such openings were allowed for usurpa-

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tion, the influence of government prevailed, and the question was determined in conformity to their wishes.

Proceedings so hostile to popular freedom could not afford those who carried their views forward to the future effects of present events any sanguine hopes of permanent liberty; and the manner in which the active war against royalty promised in the proclamation was conducted shewed only the ferocious and petty rancour of upstart jacobins. On the exchange of the daughter of Louis XVI. M. Carletti, envoy from the grand-duke of Tuscany, represented to the minister of the interior, that, as the only foreign minister deputed from a sovereign related to the princess, he conceived, that if he did not seek by direct means permission to pay a visit of compliment to that illustrious prisoner, in presence of whomsoever might be judged proper, he should be exposed to censure for his want of respect, more especially as it might be suggested that his political opinions had influenced his conduct. The minister of the interior having communicated this letter to the directory, they immediately ordered that all communication should cease between M. Carletti and the French government, and that notice of the transaction should be sent to the grand-duke. The ambassador, who had expressly declared that his letter was not to be considered as an official communication, wrote to his own court in justification of his conduct; but before he could receive an answer

answer to his dispatch, he was harshly dismissed from the republic, being conducted to the frontier by an armed force, and furnished with a passport, ordering all constituted authorities in the places through which he should pass to prevent his tarrying any-where. The grand-duke, yielding to what he considered the necessity of the times, sent a new embassador, count Corfini, who, in his first audience, explicitly disavowed the conduct of his predecessor.

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The next proceeding on the subject of royalty was not less characteristic of the directory, or repugnant to the feelings of every humane mind. It was a solemn decree for observing throughout the republic the 21st of January as a fête, in celebration of what they termed *the just punishment* of the last king of the French. The fête was to be kept in all the communes of the republic, and by all the armies and fleets: at noon, the president of each of the legislative councils was to pronounce a discourse on the subject of that memorable epoch, and to receive the oaths of the representatives of the people, who should individually swear hatred to royalty. Thibaudeau and Defermont vainly opposed to this decree, worthy the most savage nations and the darkest ages, arguments dictated by reason and humanity; the council of five hundred voted it by a large majority, and that of the ancients without discussion.

1796.

It was soon proved, however, that the nation which swore hatred to royalty had no power or no inclination

clination

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clination to resist tyranny. A message from the directory to the legislature, announcing the general joy with which the ceremony had been performed, observed that some magistrates had refused to take the oath. This message was referred to a committee, and Treilhard, the reporter, inferring a love of royalty from the refusal to swear to hate it, shamelessly proposed to decree sentence of deportation, as the means of purging the republic of the presence of those refractory magistrates, and delivering republicans from their odious presence. He admitted that the constitution provided no such penalty, but justified the measure by citing the well-known anecdote of the legislator, who had not decreed penalties against parricide, from a conviction that no such crime could exist. The councils, convinced by this absurd reasoning, decreed the deportation of every magistrate who exercised his functions without having taken the oath.

Finance and war were still the greatest objects of attention to the government, and presented the greatest difficulties for them to surmount. On these subjects the directory had addressed to the committees of the councils a long message, recommending the severest measures for obtaining supplies, procuring recruits, and preventing desertion; and having, in the course of this message, attributed the war in La Vendée, and all other disasters of the republic, to deserters and fanatics instigated by refractory priests and emigrants, they

they denounced both these classes to extreme detestation and vengeance. CHAP.
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This furious philippic was followed by a long essay, 1796.
 in the form of a message, on the state of the navy. The directory described in words of truth its contemptible condition, and took credit to themselves for having given such orders as would insure active operations in the ports, and purge the fleets of the royalists, the ignorant, and the cowards, who disgraced it. They complained that the laws passed during the last sittings of the convention did not leave in their hands powers sufficiently ample to produce all the good effects they desired, and therefore proposed the appointment of an officer, who had been in a naval command at least ten years, to regulate all affairs, civil and military, in all the ports, and correspond on these subjects with the minister of the marine, under the title of *ordonnateur-général*. This proposition was referred to a committee, and Bergevin, in 10th Jan.
 making the report to the council, traced the history and policy of the French navy from the middle of the seventeenth century, when it first began to be known, till the present period; inferring that the laws which had been passed by the convention formed a complete maritime code, and affirming that if those laws had been adequately put in execution all branches of that important service would have been in full activity, and the legislature would not have to regret the irreparable loss of two valuable months
 which

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which had elapsed since the time when the organisation ought to have been begun. He recommended therefore the order of the day; and the council of five hundred adopted that mode of rejecting the proposition of the directory, ordering at the same time that the laws of the convention which had been suspended should be enforced. In the council of ancients, Barbé Marbois strenuously enforced the appointment of an *ordonnateur-général*, and cited d'Estaing as an authority for his opinion: he did not, however, approve the message sent by the directory; and the council followed the example of the five hundred, by passing to the order of the day.

It was obvious that no operation of state could be carried on, nor even the necessary authorities of government maintained, without the advantages to be derived from a great command of money. The contribution of sixty milliards already voted was payable in assignats, which were so depreciated that nearly six thousand livres could be obtained for a louis-d'or; consequently all attempts to increase the quantity of that useless paper could only augment the confusion and difficulty which already prevailed. Pressed by craving exigencies, the directory had announced to the council of five hundred the embarrassments which pervaded every department, and the necessity for obtaining an immediate supply in specie. The circumstances of the case, they said, would warrant a departure from the strict boundaries of the constitution;

tion; and they, therefore, formally proposed a forced loan of six hundred millions of livres (26,250,000*l.*) in cash. For the raising of this loan, they laid down as a principle, that it should be required only from a million of individuals; as by these means an immense majority of the citizens would be exempt from its operation, and consequently sanction it with their applause. This absurd and shallow expedient proved the ignorance and temerity of the new government: the notion that one portion of the community could be made to suffer by an unequal tax without affecting the interests of the rest, was worthy only of infants in politics; while the distinction thus established tended to revive all the revolutionary principles, and re-establish the odious and ruinous distinction between rich and poor.

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This proposition was, as usual, referred to a committee; and Syeyes, who brought up the report, made a diffuse representation of the state of the intended contributors, whom he divided into twelve classes, who should contribute from one hundred to twelve hundred livres (4*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* to 52*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*), but this proposition was found unsatisfactory, and the further discussion was adjourned.

The directory still pressed the councils, by new messages, to adopt some conclusion; and Ramel presented a new report, extending the number of contributors to five millions of persons, and, in order to stimulate the legislators to effectual exertions, drew a picture of the
wants

CHAP. wants of the country, and the inefficacy of assignats,
 XIX. of which a supply of two milliards and two hundred
 1796. millions (96,250,000*l.*) would be necessary for the
 service of a single month. The councils decreed the
 levy of the loan in the form proposed by Ramel, and
 in order to facilitate the acquisition of the sum, made
 some regulations favourable to the relations of emi-
 grants; but after forming a series of decrees, and
 exhausting every expedient which could be suggested,
 it was found impossible to bring any considerable
 portion of the sum required into the treasury.

The government, more distressed than before, was
 obliged to seek relief in the creation of a new
 16th Jan. paper currency. This project was offered as
 resulting from the deliberations of a committee of the
 council of five hundred, whose resolution, after many
 debates, was adopted. It allowed the emission of
 two milliards and four hundred millions of livres
 (105,000,000*l.*) in paper to be called *mandats terri-*
toriaux. This new currency was to be received as
 money, and to be considered as conveying a mortgage
 with special title to purchase all national domains,
 insomuch that the possessor had only to present
 himself to the administration of the department where
 the domain he wished to buy was situated, and the
 contract of sale should be made out in ten days; the
 price to be from twenty-two to eighteen years' purchase
 on the rent or annual value, calculated according to
 the rate prevailing in 1790. A sufficient quantity of
 mandats

mandats was to be reserved for the repurchase of all the assignats in circulation, at the rate of thirty for one; and the decree was to be understood as not re-
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pealing that for a forced loan, which might be paid in assignats in the same proportion. The plan underwent many modifications; and was finally acceded to by the council of ancients.

To reinforce this new project, the directory addressed to the people a proclamation detailing its advantages, and promising the most glorious effects from its success; but they soon found themselves under the necessity of applying to the legislature for an act compelling the sellers of every commodity to receive this paper as cash. They ordained the same punishments against forgers of mandats as had been formerly denounced against those who counterfeited assignats; and those who refused to receive them in payment, or who bought and sold metallic coin, were to be fined for the first offence a sum not less than one thousand nor exceeding four thousand livres (43*l.* 15*s.* to 175*l.*); a second conviction subjected the party to imprisonment for four years. Had this law been wise in itself it would have been rendered null by a proviso that government might make bargains with express stipulations to pay in specie, a distinction which, once established, would speedily render the mandats no better than assignats.

The law did not pass without vehement debates. Lafond Ladebat particularly distinguished himself, by proving

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proving that the measure was repugnant to the constitution and to every principle of good faith, and particularly by shewing the numerous law-suits and frauds, the ruin of minors and orphans, and the aggrandisement of speculists and sharpers, which must result from it. He displayed the fatal consequences of such a violation of justice, and the impression of bad faith which foreign nations must receive on learning that the legislature of France compelled the receipt of mandats at Paris, when the provisional rescriptions which the directory had issued on the faith of the new paper already sold at a discount of seventy-five per cent, and government itself had made contracts with stipulations not to pay in that very paper, but in hard cash. Thus, he said, a man who a week ago had borrowed a hundred thousand livres might now pay his debt with twenty-five thousand; thus the national domains would be sold for a base price; and thus the orphan and the unprotected would be plundered to enrich the avaricious and the powerful. The argument, though founded in justice, produced no effect; indeed it rather seems that the directory were anxious, at any rate, to find purchasers for the national domains, in order to attach the greatest possible number of persons to their government by the powerful motive of interest.

The predictions of opposition on the depreciation of the mandats were speedily verified: at the moment they were issued, their value fell so much that a
hundred

hundred livres could be purchased for nine in specie, and after a short period they could no longer be circulated. Those who bought national domains with this discredited paper, soon found that their purchase was not so cheap as they had expected; for the necessities of government still continuing, the sales were revised, and the purchasers compelled to augment their payments, in order to escape the penalties of confiscation. This measure introduced a new inconvenience. The national woods had been sold with the other domains, and the purchasers, hastily called upon to make good an unexpected payment, felled these ornaments to the soil, and disposed of them for such prices as could on the sudden be obtained*: a similar fate attended many valuable collections of books, pictures, and gems, which being forced into cash, produced only a small price, and were dispersed in the hands of brokers and speculists of every description.

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As resources for their permanent exigencies, the legislature imposed taxes on inheritance, registering titles, a general stamp duty, and one on mortgages; they increased the custom-house imposts and the postage of letters; they established lotteries for sale of the national domains, and laid taxes on tobacco and

* The inconvenience and impolicy of this sudden destruction of so many woods, without adequate provision for reproduction, will be more sensibly felt, when it is recollected that wood, and not coal, is used as fuel throughout France.

snuff,

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snuff, inland navigation, and admissions to the theatres; they proposed to sell the salt-pits belonging to the public, and subjected to a kind of *quo warranto* inspection all purchases of national domains, declaring those who did not forward their title deeds to the national treasury within thirty days to have incurred a forfeiture. Certificates of residence were subjected to a stamp duty, and all mortgages affecting the domains of emigrants or the clergy were declared void; so that the government, in selling those lands, paid no regard to the bona fide creditor, who had acquired a possessive right by a legal conveyance. The allowances to the clergy were definitively suppressed; and the directory contrived to levy large contributions on the people of Holland, under pretence of an indemnity or ransom*. Still the government continued needy and rapacious, and the projects of finance ever resisted in the councils shewed, in colours equally

* The insolence and injustice of these demands were so striking, that in describing them the republican historians permit themselves to sneer at once at their own countrymen and the Dutch, the rooks and the bubbles in this iniquitous game. "Les chefs de la République apprirent aux Bataves qu'une grande nation qui est dans le besoin, est moins jalouse de l'amitié que de l'or de ses allies. Nous avons été si religieux observateurs de nos promesses envers la Hollande, si délicats dans les moyens de lui soutirer ses trésors, que si jamais elle veut opérer une nouvelle révolution dans son sein, il est à presumer qu'elle n'appellera plus les François à son secours." Histoire, par deux Amis, &c. vol. XIV. p. 222.

strong, the avidity, ignorance, and dishonesty, of those who ruled the state.

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The spirited contests maintained by the opposition party could not but prove highly embarrassing to the directory; and as the liberty of the press was yet considered exempt from all restraints, except those which arose from responsibility, the journals and periodical publications frequently gave additional pain, and threatened increasing difficulties by inspiring the public with hatred or contempt of their rulers. Against these attacks government sought to fortify itself by a law compelling printers to affix their names to their publications, rendering them liable to prosecution for all articles copied from foreign gazettes, and subjecting all distributors of libellous papers to imprisonment till the authors or printers could be found, and till the distributors proved themselves unacquainted with them.

18th April.

Yet the rage for private libelling could not be restrained, nor perhaps could the members of the directory agree in opinion on the particular species of publication which should be exposed to censure. The jacobin members had placed in almost all the public offices, and many of the posts dependant on government, staunch adherents of their faction. The remnant of Brissotines saw this preference with jealousy, and, faithful to their old system, began a war of libels and invectives. These disputes produced many odious scenes in public, and two of the journalist legislators,

Freron

CHAP. Freron and Isnard, scandalised the senate by the fury

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and acrimony with which they advanced against, and retorted on, each other, accusations of the most horrible cruelty and crimes during the reign of terror.

Divided in their conduct, according to the prevalence of these opposite parties, the directory adopted systems of the most contradictory tendency. They restrained the jacobins, by shutting up their principal place of meeting near the Pantheon, and by preventing their secret assemblies in various public-houses; but, at the same time, they closed many churches, theatres, and peaceable societies, as if they were desirous to console the jacobins, and confound all distinctions between them and their opponents. By degrees, however, these ferocious persons were in a train of being expelled from the public offices, and their impatience of all control and eagerness for unlimited power again rendering them dangerous to government, made it necessary to take further measures for preventing their conspiracies and disarming and dispersing their leaders.

Babœuf, who assumed the appellation Gracchus, placed himself at the head of a new conspiracy; and Drouet, the post-master of Varennes, who had, on his return from confinement in Austria, been so honourably received in the legislature, was also a conspicuous leader. They had established a committee of insurrection, under the name of *secret directory of public safety*, which corresponded with inferior committees, dispersed

disperſed throughout the capital. Funds were ſup-
 plied for the maintenance of patriots by voluntary
 contribution, and great numbers daily flocked to Paris,
 who were conſidered as recruits. Their plan (if we
 may believe the report of their enemies, ſupported by
 papers, genuine or forged) was, to maſſacre the five
 directors, all the legiſlators who had deviated from the
 principles of the mountain, the miniſters, and all the
 conſtituted authorities in Paris who ſhould iſſue orders
 for reſiſting them, or who ſhould beat the *générale*,
 and all foreigners of whatever nation they might be.
 The inſurgents were then to ſeize the gates of Paris,
 the poſt-office, the treaſury, the mint, and all maga-
 zines, private as well as public, containing victuals
 or ammunition. The conſtitution of 1793 was to be
 proclaimed on the bodies of the victims, and two
 placards were ready printed which were to be pro-
 fuſely diſtributed and paſted up. One was headed
 in large characters, CONSTITUTION OF 1793;
 LIBERTY, EQUALITY, COMMON WELFARE! The
 other diſplayed as conſpicuouſly the words THOSE
 WHO USURP SOVEREIGNTY, OUGHT TO BE PUT TO
 DEATH BY FREEMEN!

The precise means of executing their project were
 carefully arranged. The instant theſe placards had
 been diſtributed, troops of inſurgents were to ſet out
 from each of the ſections, preceded by banners in-
 ſcribed CONSTITUTION OF 1793; the ſound of the
 tocin was expected to recruit their forces with great
 numbers

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numbers of women and children, who were to march in disorder, under the guidance of the conspirators, with instructions to seize all the arms and instruments of offence they could find. When the legislature was dissolved, a convention was to be instituted, and the hall of the jacobins rebuilt at the expence and by the personal labour of those who had destroyed it; measures were taken for securing the co-operation of two camps established near Paris, and proclamations were to be dispatched to all the armies by extraordinary couriers.

Whatever appearance of formidable combination this conspiracy may present on paper, it was, in reality, attended with little danger: the directory were apprised of all the circumstances and all the agents, and sent several messages to the councils and issued proclamations indicating their intelligence, and forbidding alarm. They required from the legislature a declaration of the penalty to be incurred by those who should excite or maintain any assemblage, any individual belonging to which should not retire on the first command of the constituted authorities, or of the armed force deputed by them. The councils took
17th April. the message into immediate consideration, and declared that such culprits incurred pain of death, with a power, however, for the jury to recommend a change of their sentence to that of deportation.

Armed with this new power, and reinforced by the law against libellers, the directory
11th May.

rectory permitted the conspirators to proceed till the eve of executing their project, when a proclamation appeared, detailing all its particulars. The conspirators were seized, seals put on their papers, a report made on their treason, and a court empowered to sit at Vendôme for the purpose of trying them. Several laws were also enacted for strengthening the hands of the directory, who by a little finesse in pretending to submit to the legislature doubts on the manner of proceeding with respect to Drouet, obtained from them explicit acknowledgments of the extent of their authority, and a clear definition of the right given by the constitution to put upon their trial deputies taken *flagrante delicto*.

In examining the papers which were seized, many curious facts were discovered relative to the formation of the conspiracy, and many culprits were detected against whom no suspicion appeared to exist. Drouet protested his innocence in vain, and made unavailing efforts to account for his association with the conspirators; he was ordered for trial, but found means to escape from the prison of the Ab-^{17th Aug.} baye. It is asserted by the partisans of the directory that they connived at his flight, through gratitude for his service in 1791, and pity of his sufferings during his confinement in Germany.

Babœuf, on his being apprehended, wrote in insolent terms to the directory, inviting them to treat with him as with an equal power, and threatening them

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them with new dangers from the exertions of his party. His letter was treated with ridicule and contempt; but while the high court at Vendôme was proceeding on his trial, a new insurrection was excited. It was planned with some dexterity, as white cockades were thrown about the streets, five banners inscribed *death to republicans*, and *vive le roi*, were seized, and placards were posted inviting the people to re-establish royalty. The intention of these manœuvres was to mislead the attention of government, but the real nature of the project was clearly ascertained and measures adopted for its frustration. Disappointed in other efforts, the conspirators tried a coup-de-main on the camp at Grenelle, where, after some ineffectual endeavours to induce the soldiers to fraternise with them, they made a desperate attack on Malo, commander of a troop of horse, but were easily defeated, and great numbers of them taken prisoners. A military commission condemned twenty-five to imprisonment, thirty to deportation, and thirty-two to death, who were in pursuance of their sentence shot in the Champ de Mars and in the plain of Grenelle. Babœuf and several of his accomplices had previously suffered: he underwent a long trial, in which he behaved with great firmness, and was condemned to death by the court at Vendôme*.

* For the events contained in this chapter, see Histories by Desaiguards, deux Amis, Pagès, &c. and Histoire du Directoire Exécutif.

CHAP. XX.

View of the Campaign in Germany—Position and Numbers of the Armies—Termination of the Armistice—Movements of the French on the Lower Rhine—Battles of Uckerath and Altenkirchen—The Archduke Charles evacuates the Hundsruck—Engagement at Wetzlaer—Second Battle of Uckerath—Retreat of the French beyond the Rhine and the Sieg—Opening of the Campaign on the Upper Rhine—Wurmser evacuates the Palatinate—and departs for Italy—The French take Fort Kehl—Defeat the Austrians at Renchen—and at Rastadt—They cross the Lower Rhine—defeat General Funck and General Wartenleben—take Fort Kœnigstein—and Frankfort—defeat the Austrians at Etlingen—are repulsed at Constadt and Eslingen—The Austrians retreat in every Direction—Contributions levied by the French—who sell Peace to different Princes—They are again repulsed at Eslingen—but continue to advance—The Austrians still obliged to Retreat—Battle of Mettingen—Its Effect—Bold Project of the Archduke—His March—The French defeated at Teining and Neumarkt—Jourdan retreats to Amberg—where he is defeated—Retreats across the Mein—Pursued by the Archduke—Defeated at Wartzburg—Surrender

Surrender of that Citadel—Jourdan retreats towards the Labn—His precipitate and unmilitary Flight—He passes the Labn—and the Rhine—Is removed from the Command, which is given to Beurnonville—The Archduke marches to oppose Moreau—State of the Armies of Latour and Moreau after the Departure of the Archduke—The French pass the Danube and the Lech—Engagements in the Neighbourhood of Munich—The Elector Palatine purchases Peace—Effects of this Event—Moreau quits his Position on the Iser—His Rear-guard and that of Desaix routed—Moreau determines to retreat—Repasses the Lech—Several Skirmishes—Kehl taken by the Austrians and recaptured—Moreau pressed on all Sides—The Peasants of Suabia rise against him—His Prudence—He sends his Sick and other Incumbrances through Switzerland—defeats M. de Latour—Continues his Retreat—Forces a Passage through the Valley of Hell—and completes his Retreat—Endeavours to maintain himself in the Brisgau—Is attacked and continually defeated—and forced to repass the Rhine—End of the Campaign in this Quarter—Events on the Lower Rhine after the Archduke's Departure—Difficulties of Beurnonville—Successes of Hotze and Neu—Werneck sends Parties across the Rhine—which after some Success are repulsed—Neu and Hotze compelled to retire—Neutrality of Neuwied agreed on—An Armistice agreed on between Kray and Kleber—disavowed by their Governments—yet observed—Siege and Capture of Kehl—and of the Tête-

de-Pont at Huningen—End of the Campaign in Germany.

GERMANY and Italy were the principal scenes of war, and in both the republicans employed more considerable means than on former occasions, and combined them with greater ability; they took advantage of the disunion and errors of their opponents, and diminished their numbers as well by terror as seduction.

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The situation of the Imperial and French armies in Germany is thus described. The Rhine separated them from the frontiers of Switzerland to the environs of the town of Spires, where it ceased to be their common barrier. Beyond that city, the cantonments which they respectively occupied at the distance of some leagues from each other, extended across the Upper Palatinate, the duchy of Deuxponts, and the Hundsruck. The line occupied by the Imperial army passed through the towns of Spires, Neustadt, Kayerslautern, Kuffel, and from thence crossing the Nahe, terminated at the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Baccharach. At this point, that river again became the common separation of both armies, and continued so to beyond Cologne, between the river Sieg and the town of Duffeldorf. The Austrians and French divided between them the space between the river and the last-mentioned fortress, before which the army of the latter had an intrenched camp. The
Imperialists

CHAP. Imperialists occupied on the Rhine the strong fortresses
XX. of Philipshurg, Manheim, Mentz, and Ehrenbreitstein.

1796. The French possessed on the Upper Rhine those of
Alface, and on the Lower Rhine that of Duffeldorf.
The French armies commanded by Jourdan and
Moreau were estimated at a hundred and sixty
thousand men, while the Imperialists under the arch-
duke Charles did not amount to a hundred and fifty
thousand.

Every motive of necessary policy and ambition
urged the French to an offensive campaign, or in the
words of the directory, *to maintain their troops by
victory*; while the interest of the emperor, and the
wisdom derived from experience, indicated to him the
propriety of defensive measures.

21st May. It was one of the conditions of the armistice
between the opposed generals, that ten days'
notice should be given of its termination; and this
ceremony having been complied with, Jour-

31st. dan made a movement forwards on both
banks of the Lower Rhine, and several affairs of posts
took place in the Hundsruck. On the right bank of
the Rhine, where the Imperialists were weakest, the
French employed the greatest portion of their force.
Twenty thousand men only defended the Sieg,
covered Ehrenbreitstein, and lined the right bank of
the Rhine, between the Sieg and Lahn. This
1st June. corps, commanded by the prince of Wurtem-

burg, was attacked by the greater part of the army of
the

the Sambre and Meuse under general Kleber, forced at all points, and compelled to retire behind the river to the strong position of Uckerath, with the loss of two thousand four hundred men. CHAP.
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Before the prince was completely established in this post, the republicans endeavoured, by superior numbers, to outflank and turn him; but he fell back on Altenkirchen, where he was immediately attacked, and put to the rout, with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon, part of his magazines, and three thousand men. The Austrians were thus compelled to retire behind the Lahn, leaving Ehrenbreitstein uncovered, which was invested by the French.

The archduke Charles, sensible of the necessity of reinforcing the prince of Wurtemberg, renounced a diversion he was making in the palatinate and the Hundsruck, and directing his march with the greatest part of his army towards Mentz, passed the Rhine, and having secured the defence of the Lahn, proceeded in person against the left wing of the French army, headed by general Lefebvre. The archduke pushed forward with the utmost celerity to prevent a junction between Jourdan and Kleber, and made the right wing of his army pass the Lahn and the Dille at Wetzlar. General Werneck, who commanded this division, attacked the French without success, till seven o'clock in the evening; when a reinforcement having arrived, the archduke advanced, and

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and surmounting great obstacles, arising from the nature of the position, gained a complete victory. The republicans in their retreat took another position equally strong with the former, but were again expelled, with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon and many prisoners. The French corps which defended the Lower Lahn were obliged to fall back on the Sieg, pursued by the archduke, and prevented from saving their provisions, artillery, waggons, and baggage, by the hatred of the oppressed inhabitants of the country.

18th. The young Imperial general by his skilful manœuvres compelled Jourdan, who had crossed the Rhine at Neuweid, to repass it with the right wing of his army; and sent forward his advanced guard under general Kray, in pursuit of Kleber, who was retiring towards the Sieg.

20th. Kleber was soon overtaken; but as he headed twenty-five thousand men, while Kray had only eleven thousand, he attacked without fear, and would have obtained a complete victory, but for the steady valour of three Austrian battalions, who defeated nine battalions of their opponents, and gained time for the cavalry to rally and return to the charge; when the French being vanquished in every point, Kleber was obliged precipitately to retreat to the walls of Duffeldorf. Thus in fifteen days the archduke, by the rapidity of his movements and the ability of his manœuvres, marched from the banks of the Upper Nahe to those of the Upper Lahn, gained

gained two battles, and drove the republicans from the walls of Wetzlaer to those of Duffeldorf.

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While these events occurred on the Lower Rhine, Moreau commenced the campaign on the Upper Rhine, by two attacks on the position of Wurmser, which produced no effect but that of confining the Imperialists within their intrenched camp before the fort of the Rhine. Moreau, however, meant them only as feints; for, leaving a small force to watch the Austrian camp, he suddenly marched with a greater portion of his army towards Strasburg, where preparations were making for an important enterprize.

In consequence of the loss of the Milanese, the court of Vienna had determined to send marshal Wurmser into Italy with thirty thousand men; a resolution which the French had learned by means of their spies before it was communicated to the Imperial army, and formed their measures accordingly. The departure of thirty thousand men from the Upper Rhine, created an opening which the archduke's expedition to the Lower Rhine would not permit him to fill up for some time; and Moreau, taking advantage of the crisis, embarked three thousand men in boats, who landing on some small islands which lie between Strasburg and fort Kehl, drove in the Imperial picquets, who in their flight omitted to break down the bridges which communicate with the right bank of the Rhine. These the French

21st.

passed

CHAP. XX. 1796. passed, and suddenly attacked Kehl: the Suabian * garrison, though assailed only by infantry without artillery, made no resistance; and the supineness of the troops in the neighbourhood afforded the republicans sufficient leisure to strengthen themselves in their new acquisition, establish a bridge of boats between Kehl and Strasburg, and spread themselves over the plain, so as to defy any attack from Offenbourg or Rastadt.

26th. They next attacked the Suabian camp at Wildstedt, and expelled the troops without resistance, except from the Austrian regiment of Anspach cuirassiers, who performed surprising acts of ineffectual valour.

On receiving information of these events, M. de Latour, the Austrian general, in conjunction with the prince de Condé, made great exertions to stop the progress of the republicans, but they were controlled by superior numbers. Moreau, with eighty thousand men, occupied the best-chosen positions, and 4th July. continued to gain advantages over the Suabians, from whom he took the mountain of Kniebis, and the town of Freydenstadt; while general 29th June to 5th July. Defaix, at the head of the left column, defeated Latour at Renchen, and pushed forward to the river Murg, and city of Rastadt. Here Moreau, with a large reinforcement, joined Defaix; and after

* The Suabians are unmilitary and cowardly to a proverb. Their commander, general Stein, was also more than suspected of treachery, and selling the positions entrusted to him for money.

a bloody engagement, which lasted the whole day, compelled the Imperialists to retreat to Effingen. CHAP.
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The archduke Charles, suspecting the intended movement of the French, left thirty thousand men, under lieutenant-general Wartensleben, to cover the Lower Rhine; and having reinforced the garrisons of Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz, arrived with the rest of his army by forced marches on the banks of the Murg, at the moment when Latour was giving way to his opponents. As soon as the archduke had quitted the Lower Rhine, the army of the Sambre and Meuse resumed offensive operations; Jourdan, passing the river near Neuwied, surpris'd the general Funck, and compelled Wartensleben to retire behind the Lahn, which the whole French army pass'd in three columns. In vain Wartensleben oppos'd to their force, which more than doubled that under his command, all the efforts of skill and valour; he was unsuccessful in several engagements, and witness'd the capture of fort Koenigstein, the irresistible advance of the republicans towards Frankfort, and finally the capitulation of that important town: he could only hope for safety by continuing his retreat up the Mein towards Aschaffenburg and Wurtzburgh, in order to approach and establish a communication with the army of the archduke.

That brave prince was apprised of the events which had followed his leaving the Lower Rhine, and, anticipating

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2d to 9th
July.

11th.

14th.

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icipating the consequences, saw no chance of avoiding the dangers of being placed between the victorious armies of Jourdan and Moreau; but by a battle; for which purpose he posted his right near the village of Durmerheim, his centre in front of Eflingen, and his left near the town and mountains of Frauenall. He wished to defer the encounter for three days, to give time for the arrival of reinforcements; but Moreau, penetrating into his intentions and difficulties, 9th. suddenly attacked his forces on all points, endeavouring to turn their left by getting round the mountains. After four repulses, the French succeeded in this object, and the Imperialists were obliged to retreat towards Pfortzheim. The loss of men was nearly equal on both sides; but the republicans had the advantage of detaching the Austrians entirely from the banks of the Rhine, and from the fortified towns of Philipsburg and Manheim, into both which, however, the archduke prudently threw strong garrisons.

14th. After remaining at Pfortzheim four days, the archduke learnt that the centre of the French army were directing their march towards Stutgard; and therefore, in order to preserve his communication with the prince of Condé, removed his

18th. camp to a position near Vahingen on the river Entz. The republicans still continuing to advance into the duchy of Wurtemberg, the archduke removed to Ludwisburg, a country-house of the reigning

reigning sovereign, and sent two small corps, under the command of general Baillet and prince John of Lichtenstein, to post themselves at Constadt and Esslingen. The French entered Stugard the same day; and, sensible of the importance of these places on account of their situation on the Necker and the magazines they contained, endeavoured to capture them by dint of superior force, but after an obstinate conflict were repulsed. The next day the archduke passed his army over the Necker, and encamped at Feldbach; while the prince of Condé and general Frœlich were obliged to yield up the Brisgau, and the country of the Black Forest, falling back to Sigmaringen on the Danube. At the same time general Wartensleben, continuing to give way before the numerous army of Jourdan, was retiring across Franconia, and on his arrival at Wurtzburg found himself on a line with the front of the archduke; from which period the march of the respective armies became better combined, and they commenced a methodical retreat, and war of manœuvres, being opposed in every point by forces more in proportion above their own, than they had been at the beginning of the campaign.

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20th.

circle

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circle of Suabia, and all the petty princes whose estates are comprehended in it, were obliged to solicit a suspension of arms, which was sold to each separately at an enormous price. Their joint contribution amounted to twenty-five millions of livres (1,093,750*l.*), twelve thousand horses, as many oxen, 500,000 quintals of wheat, rye, and oats, 200,000 pair of shoes, and an immense quantity of other necessaries.

The archduke in continuing his retreat shewed equal valour and prudence; general Hotze, in
20th. defence of Esslingen against a new attack, repulsed the French with the loss of two thousand men; and daily skirmishes proved the bravery of the Imperial troops: but superiority of numbers still enabled the French, to advance, and before the end of July they had completed the conquest of Suabia and Franconia, and threatened Bohemia and Bavaria. Prince Charles considering it unnecessary to cover Bohemia, where many natural obstacles opposed an invasion, resolved on drawing towards himself the greater part of War-
tenleben's army; and this judicious plan was executed amid numerous difficulties and daily skirmishes, attended with alternate success, but the French continued gaining ground. The archduke had been
8th Aug. obliged to abandon his position at Nordlingen, and established his head-quarters at Metlingen, upon the little river Egar, his left extending towards Hohenalheim, and his right towards Allersheim. The prince of Condé had retreated to

Mindelheim;

Mindelheim; and general Wolf had retired into the defiles near the town of Bregentz, of which the French took possession.

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In this situation the archduke projected an attack on the republicans: his principal object was, to turn Moreau's right, and fall suddenly on his rear, while his whole force was engaged in front. As the French were much superior to him in number, his greatest hope of success depended on the goodnes of his dispositions and on a surprize, but a violent storm in the night retarded his operations for several hours, and the engagement was not begun till seven o'clock in the morning; it lasted during the greater part of the day with various success, and towards the evening the Imperial commander might have obtained a splendid victory, but as he found that whether he conquered or was defeated, he should be obliged to fall back to the banks of the Danube and the town of Donauwert, he put an end to the battle, which he considered an useless sacrifice of lives when he could gain only the personal honour resulting from a victory. The Austrians lost in the encounter fifteen hundred men; the French double that number, besides several provision waggons, and some pieces of cannon.

This well-fought battle disconcerted the projects of Moreau; for his reserve of artillery and stores having been obliged to fly to a considerable distance, he could not harass the retreat of the archduke towards

CHAP. Donauwert ; and this check first interrupted the grand
 XX. } project which had been founded on the success at-
 1796. } tending the armies in Germany and Italy, for effecting
 a junction of both, and pouring with irresistible force
 into the hereditary states of the emperor. The arch-
 duke, receiving daily reinforcements which diminished
 the disparity between him and his opponents, conceived
 the bold project of leaving a small portion of force to
 keep Moreau in check, while with the remainder he
 fell on Jourdan, and overwhelmed him with superior
 numbers. The plan was replete with danger, but the
 prince perceived that it was the only one to procure
 effectual relief, and he relied on secrecy, valour, and
 fortune, for the event.

15th. Having formed the necessary preparations,
 and left a sufficient force for defence of Bavaria
 and the Lech, he recalled his troops from the other
 side of the Danube, burnt the bridge of Donauwert,
 and pressed forward on his expedition. Unexpected
 circumstances had obliged Wartensleben to retire from

20th. the town of Amberg to Schwartzfeld be-
 hind the river Naab, and the archduke in
 consequence advancing more to the right than he had
 originally intended, arrived at Hemman. After two

22d. days spent in preparations and enquiries,
 general Nauendorf attacked the French divi-
 sion under Bernadotte, and drove them from the
 village of Teining, within a few miles of Ratisbon,
 back to Neumarkt. At this place general Hotze
 again

again attacked and pursued them to Altdorf, while squadrons of Austrian cavalry and light infantry occupied the high road to Nuremberg. These judicious manœuvres placed the archduke on the right flank of Jourdan's army, and he concerted measures for a general attack; but the French commander, apprised of Bernadotte's defeat, abandoned all his posts, and retired to Amberg. The Austrians pursued and compelled him to fall back to Sultzbach with the loss of nine hundred prisoners, and two battalions of his rear guard cut to pieces. He continued his flight during eight days, passing through Velden, Betzenstein, Forcheim, Ebermannstadt, and Bamberg; crossing the Mein at Eltman, and Hallstadt, and halting near Lauringen and Schweinfurt. In this long retreat the precipitation of the republicans was not more conspicuous than the excellent generalship of the archduke, who, though unable to come up with the main body, intercepted couriers, cut off part of the baggage, and by his great activity compelled the flying foe to take a route which deprived him of every hope of being able to join, or obtain assistance from, Moreau.

General Nauendorf with ten thousand men was dispatched to reinforce Latour, and prevent Moreau from taking advantage of his reduced force, while the archduke prepared to expel Jourdan from Franconia. As a necessary preliminary, he sent general Hotze to Wurtzburg, who drove out the

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1st Sept.

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French garrison and possessed himself of the citadel. Jourdan had been equally anxious to preserve this post, but arrived too late, and failed in a spirited attempt to expel the Austrians. His sense of honour, however, impelled him to risk a battle for the preservation of his conquests, and having selected a most advantageous position, he waited with firmness the approach of his opponent. The archduke, having thrown a bridge across the Mein at Detelbach, and Geroltshoffen, divided his army into three columns, the left commanded by general Sztarray, the centre by Wartenleben, and the right by Kray. Sztarray, who was first engaged, and met with some success, was brought into imminent danger by the delay of the other divisions in crossing the river; but the archduke having ordered Wartenleben to ford the Mein with all his cavalry, the timely execution of his command restored the day. Still infantry were wanting to gain possession of the heights where the French had posted their artillery. When these had passed the river, a general charge was made, and the Austrians, undeterred by the heavy fire of the batteries and the constant annoyance of a numerous corps of Tirailleurs, penetrated through the woods, advanced with fixed bayonets to the tops of the hills, and in a few minutes dislodged the republicans. Jourdan now began his retreat, which, for some time, was conducted with great order, under the protection of the flying artillery and cavalry; but these having
been

been put to the rout by the Austrian horse, irreparable confusion ensued, and night and the weariness of the victors alone saved the French army from total destruction: they lost, however, two thousand killed and wounded, and upwards of three thousand prisoners, with ten pieces of cannon, and a vast number of baggage and provision waggons, while the loss of the Austrians did not exceed eight hundred men.

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The citadel of Wurtzburg immediately surrendered, and Schweinfurt was evacuated; the Austrians obtaining seven hundred prisoners, and a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with immense quantities of ammunition and stores, the produce of iniquitous contributions levied by the French. Their rapacity had rendered them so odious that the peasants of Franconia armed on all sides during their retreat, stopped their convoys, plundered their military chests, and massacred or took prisoners all their stragglers.

After his defeat, Jourdan retired to Hamelbourg, continuing his retreat towards the Upper Lahn across the country of Fuld and Wetteravia. The genius and celerity of the archduke still harassed him, or, by timely precaution seizing those places where he thought to make a stand, rendered his flight additionally precipitate and hopeless; general Kray, with prudent speed, took possession of Aschaffenburg, and the French having evacuated Frankfort, the archduke proceeded to Dettingen and Windecken, his advanced guard occupying

7th.

9th & 10th.

occupying

CHAP. occupying the important post of Friedberg, where he
 XX. was joined by ten thousand men from the garrison of
 1796. Mentz, who had taken possession of the fort of Kænig-
 stein. The French army was in a most undisciplined
 and unorganised state; their retreat or rather flight
 was a scene of undescribable misery and disorder.
 Having no regular supply of provisions, nor settled
 points of retreat, they no longer waited for the com-
 mands of their generals, but fled in broken parties,
 plundering and desolating the country. Part of the
 infantry had thrown away their arms, and were with-
 out shoes; their numbers were as much diminished by
 the rage of the peasantry, by want of provision, and
 fatigue, as by the sword; and their loss in retreating
 from the Naab to the Lahn is calculated at upwards
 of twenty thousand men.

12th. The archduke dispatched his right wing,
 under general Kray, against Wetzlaer, which
 the French abandoned. General Hotze, with the
 left, attempted to dislodge them from Weilburg, but
 without success. The archduke, however, prepared
 to attack their centre by a combined opera-
 16th. tion; but the French, threatened at all points,
 evacuated the towns of Dietz and Limbourg, and
 retired behind the Lahn. The next day his
 17th. royal highness intended a vigorous attack;
 but Jourdan, though reinforced by part of the army
 of the North, profited by a thick fog to steal a march,
 and secure a retreat. After many partial skirmishes,

in one of which, near Hochsteinbach, general Marceau was slain, two divisions of the French army passed the Rhine at Cologne, and the main body fought safely in the intrenched camp before Duffeldorf. Thus ended Jourdan's retreat of more than three hundred miles in twenty-five days, during which he lost nearly half his army.

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Beurnonville was promoted to command the army in this quarter, instead of the unsuccessful Jourdan; but the Austrian prince, convinced that he could not soon commence offensive measures, provided for the defence of the north of Germany, and hastened with fifteen thousand to the south for the purpose of obliging Moreau also to repass the Rhine.

22d.

On the departure of the archduke, general Latour had taken a defensive station behind the river Lech, covering the town of Augsburgh, while generals Frœlich and Wolf were at Wangen and Kempten, protecting the left of the army, and keeping up a communication with the Tyrol; Moreau's army was partly on the left and partly on the right bank of the Danube, between the rivers Iller and Lech. When the French general learned that the Austrian prince had concentrated his forces at Donauwert, he crossed the Danube at Dettingen, Hœchstet, and Laningen; in this he unwittingly completed the views of the archduke, and for some time after, shewed himself utterly unapprised of his plan. When more per-

15th Aug.

17th.

24th.

fectly

CHAP. fectly informed on that point, he passed the Lech, for
 XX. the purpose of penetrating into Bavaria, and ap-
 1796. } proaching Munich, hoping by these means to make
 the archduke abandon his projects against Jourdan,

25th. and return to his former station; but that
 judicious young general prudently contented
 himself with detaching, as already has been observed,
 ten thousand men, under general Nauendorf, to the
 assistance of Latour, a force which was found sufficient
 to hinder Moreau from penetrating beyond the Iser,
 and thus prevented his intended diversion.

30th. The French gaining ground for four suc-
 cessive days on the Austrians, both found
 themselves under the walls of Munich, but neither
 army took possession of the town: the Imperialists
 posted themselves in a judicious manner, while Moreau
 selected a situation at once singular and dangerous.
 While the French commander, in order to meliorate
 his situation, mediated an assault on the *tête de pont* at

1st Sept. Ingolstadt, generals Nauendorf and Mer-
 cantin attacked his left wing, and pursued
 him as far as Langenbruke and the chapel of St. Gast,

3d. The French revenged this loss by dislodging
 their opponents from Freydingen, and its
 bridge.

For several days, slight affairs of posts only took
 place; but in this interval the elector-palatine, terrified
 by the approach of the republicans, obtained from
 them a treaty of peace, by which, in consideration of

fix millions of livres (437,500*l.*) 3,300 horfes, 200,000 quintals of grain, 100,000 facks of oats, 100,000 pair of fhoes, 10,000 pair of boots, 30,000 ells of cloth, and twenty pictures to be felected from the galleries at Duffeldorf and Munich, they fold to the elector a neutrality for his dominions in Bavaria, Franconia, and Weftphalia. As this defection from the general caufe of the empire followed within a month the pacification of the republic with Saxony, it was expected that from the diminution in numbers of the Imperial army, and the fupplies which they acquired, the French would have derived great advantages ; but, in fact, the purfuit of this eafy, though apparently profitable triumph, ifolated Moreau from Jourdan, prevented his receiving due intelligence, and, in the end, brought on him many difafters.

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The Austrian light troops difplayed the moft fuccefsful vigilance in intercepting all couriers, and at length Moreau, very ill informed of Jourdan's fituation, fent a large corps of cavalry drawn from his left wing acrofs the Danube, and, on the enfuing day, quitted his own pofition on the Ifer, for the purpofe of fupporting or following this column. While executing this manœuvre, he was attacked near Munich, by prince Furftenberg and general Froelich, who defeated his rear-guard, killing and capturing upwards of two thoufand. The divifion which had paffed the river on the preceding day, reached Aichftedt, where they levied a contribution

CHAP. contribution of three hundred thousand florins
 XX. (30,000*l.*), and threw Franconia into great alarms for
 1796. the fate of the archduke; but Latour instantly com-

14th. menced a pursuit of Moreau, while general Nauendorf,
 passing the Danube below Neuburg, overtook
 Defaix, whom Moreau had recalled, defeated
 his rear-guard, killed a great number, and took a
 thousand prisoners.

From this moment, Moreau determined on a retreat
 towards the Rhine through Suabia: he found all
 hopes of Jourdan's being enabled to rally and resume
 the offensive frustrated; the armies of his opponents
 were greatly augmented by recruits; and the utmost
 enthusiasm prevailed throughout the hereditary domi-
 nions of the emperor. His only care was to retire
 with as much steadiness and method, as Jourdan had
 shewn precipitation and disorder.

In execution of this project, Moreau drew together
 his army, contracted his line, and retired behind the
 river Lech; but finding himself too much pressed by
 17th. generals Latour and Nauendorf, he repulsed
 several of their advanced posts, and again ex-
 tended his line to Landsberg, Friedberg, and Rain,
 On the same day general Frœlich made himself
 master of Immenstadt and Kempten, and afterwards
 19th. dislodged the French from Jassy after an en-
 gagement in which they lost five hundred
 men. By this conquest, Frœlich outflanked the right
 wing of Moreau, and his left was at the same time
 turned

turned by general Nauendorf, who had advanced in force to Nordlingen. This general soon obtained possession of Donauwert, and the position of Shellenberg; and pushing on parties towards Ulm, Dillingen, and Gemund, formed a junction at Canstadt, with some detachments of a corps commanded by major-general Petrarch.

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Before this junction, Petrarch marched into the margraviate of Baden, drove from Bruchsal, Durlach, Carlruhe, and Radstadt, small bodies of republicans, and obliged them to take refuge in the fort of Kehl, which the French had covered with considerable intrenchments, but they were neither finished nor sufficiently provided with artillery. On this important fort Petrarch directed an attack to

17th.

be made, which was at first eminently successful, the Austrians killing twelve hundred men, taking eight hundred prisoners, and forcing the remainder of the garrison to retreat beyond the Rhine; but unfortunately one of the staff officers, who directed the assault, was killed, and the other taken prisoner; their successors, through ignorance or inadvertency, neglected the proper precautions for securing their conquest, and a detachment of three thousand French, who had marched from Strasburg, easily expelled the victors with the loss of four hundred men. Thus a few moments of improvidence dispossessed the Imperialists of Moreau's principal communication with France, and restored to the republicans a post

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post which afterwards cost the emperor thousands of lives and millions of money to regain.

Petrarch having rallied the battalions, and made a vain attempt to regain the fort, left some troops to blockade it; then sending a detachment to take possession of the valley of Kintzing and the defile of Kniebis, he marched with the remainder of his troops towards Stutgard and Canstadt. By these

24th. movements he gained one of the five principal passes of Suabia, placed himself in the rear of Moreau, depriving him of all direct communication with Strasbourg, carried off the magazines formed in the duchy of Wurtemberg, and intercepted convoys and couriers. Having opened a communication with Nauendorf, he straightened the front of Moreau's retreat, and obliged him to make it through the southern part of Suabia.

Pressed on his rear by Petrarch, and on his two flanks by Nauendorf and Frœlich, Moreau

20th. had been obliged to recommence his retreat by passing the Lech at Augsburg and Rain, intending to retire across the duchy of Wurtemberg and the county of Baden, through Ulm, Stutgard, Canstadt, and Kehl. To effect this he sent forward the

22d. commissaries of provisions, the army bakers, and a part of the baggage, which were all taken by a detachment from Stutgard. Nauendorf, comprehending the design of Moreau, hastened

23d. towards Ulm, and gaining the heights and passes

passes to the duchy of Wurtemberg, compelled the French to change their route. 26th.

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They now crossed the Danube at Erbach, directing their march towards Biberach and Schuffenreid; but Petrarch again made a judicious move to Villengen, and disposed bodies of troops to prevent their retreat, while a column sent by Moreau to re-open the communication with Kehl, through the valley of Kintzing, was repulsed, and forced to fall back on Freyburg.

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Moreau was followed across the Danube by Latour, who drove him from Biberach, and pursued him to Groth. The army under Latour was divided into four corps, which, assisted by those under Nauendorf and Petrarch, closed up the principal passes of Suabia, leaving open only those of the principality of Furstenberg and the forest towns. Besides these difficulties, Moreau found a new enemy to encounter in the Suabian peasants, who, smarting under injuries and oppression, rose against their greedy and tyrannical conquerors, and being supplied with officers and assisted by advice from the army, posted themselves in the woods and defiles through which the French had to pass, massacred or took prisoners their smaller detachments, stopped their sick and wounded, pillaged their magazines, and recaptured a portion of the spoils of which themselves had been plundered.

29th.

Moreau was thus surrounded by difficulties which required all his courage and generalship to encounter, and

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and his prudence and valour in this arduous retreat gained him immortal honour. The nature of the opposition to his progress obliged him to concentrate his army and move *en masse* in very close order.

30th. He attempted to break through the circle of foes which surrounded him, by attacking the vanguards of generals Latour and Mercantin; but failing in this endeavour, he sent off his sick and wounded and all the superfluities of his army to France through Switzerland, the cantons with generous hospitality permitting their progress after taking the precaution to disarm them. Still the situation of the French general was extremely bad; his communication with and hopes of succour from his own country entirely cut off, and no expectations left but such as arose from his own valour and the probable errors of his opponents.

1st Oct. His first effort towards extricating himself was wise and fortunate: having learned the situation of the army of M. de Latour, Moreau made his left cross the Danube at Reidlingen; it recrossed at Munderkingen, and at day-break routed the right of the Austrians posted between the Danube and a lake called the Feder See. When Moreau was informed of this success, he attacked the whole front of the Austrian line; M. de Latour ordered a retreat, which soon degenerated into a flight, and his whole army would have been in danger of destruction, but for the bravery of the emigrant corps of Condé, who covered the

the retreat, and on this, as well as on the preceding day, shewed a degree of bravery and discipline transcending all eulogy. The Austrians lost four thousand men, and twelve pieces of cannon.

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This success, for which M. de Latour is severely censured, altered the face of Moreau's affairs, though it was far from removing all his difficulties.

Latour took a position at Monschroden, Erlenhafen, and Laupheim, while the French general, taking advantage of his necessary inaction, recommenced his retreat in three parallel columns, one of which opened the entrance

3d.

6th.

into the forest towns, while another covered the main body against Nauendorf and Petrarch; and the centre, covered on its right and left by the other columns, faced the Austrian general. Thus Moreau directed his course towards the mountains of Suabia, preparing to force the defiles. Defaix contributed to the success of this retreat by defeating general Petrarch, and driving him from Schweyningen, Rothweil, and Villingen, essential posts for passing the black forest.

After an interval of some days, Latour had recommenced his pursuit, and Nauendorf made an unsuccessful attempt to recover Rothweil. Moreau had established his head-quarters at Engen, but though he retained the important pass of Rothweil, his situation was critical and embarrassing. It was necessary to force a way through the valley of Kintzing to Kehl, or through the valley of Hell to Freyburg.

7th to 10th.

CHAP. Freyburg. The entrances of these valleys were
 XX. guarded by Austrian corps and armed peasants; and
 1796. the archduke Charles, having passed the Rhine, the
 Mein, and the Necker, was already at Offenburgh.
 The centre of the French army therefore advanced in
 a close column to force the passage of the valley of
 Hell; they attacked colonel d'Aspre, who was sup-
 plied with only a few forces, drove him from post to
 post, wounded him, and, at length, passed this terrible
 defile*, and arrived at Freyburg, whence
 13th. they drove the Austrians, and advanced be-
 yond the city, the possession of which secured and
 completed their retreat. While the centre was passing
 14th to the valley of Hell, the two wings formed a
 16th. junction, and were equally successful, while
 the equipage and ammunition waggons defiled by the
 forest towns under protection of the right wing.
 M. de Latour followed Moreau's army in hopes of
 cutting off a part; but, being prevented by the judg-
 ment and celerity of that general, marched to the
 right towards the valley of Kintzing, and formed a
 junction with the archduke. Generals Nauendorf
 and Petrarch also joined the Austrian prince; and
 general Frœlich and the corps of Condé alone con-

* The valley thus strangely named is six miles long, and in many places not more than six paces wide: it is situated between the towns of Freyburg and Neustadt, and the sign exhibited at an inn, called the *kingdom of Heaven*, gives rise to a local proverb that in this pass are found Paradise and Hell.

tinued the pursuit of the republicans into the defiles of the Black Forest. The day after his arrival at Freyburg, Moreau caused Waldkirch to be occupied, and placed his advanced posts on a height which bound the right bank of the little river Eltz. A detachment of his army drove the Austrian light troops from old Brifach, and threw a bridge of boats over the Rhine, between that town and New Brifach.

Having effected this surprising retreat almost without loss, Moreau, confiding in his good fortune, resolved, if possible, to maintain himself in the Brisgau, and advanced into the valley of Kintzing, for the purpose of fighting the archduke, and relieving Kehl from its blockade. In hopes of inducing the French to weaken the defence of Kehl, his royal highness sent a detachment under general Hotze into the Palatinate and Alsace, which levied contributions even at the gates of Strasburg, but did not succeed in its main object, and the prince was obliged to forego his expectations. He then marched towards Freyburg, and taking the command of Latour's army, which had been joined by the corps of Nauendorf and Petrarch, posted his troops in a most judicious manner from the Rhine to the entrance of the valley of St. Peter and St. Meger, where Condé and Frœlich were placed. The French occupied the mouth of the valleys, and their line passed by Simonswald, Waldkirch, Emendgen in front of

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CHAP. the Eltz, and of Kentzingen near the Rhine, to which
 XX. their left extended.

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On the 17th of October, a smart action took place between the advanced guards, which terminated favourably to the Austrians.

18th.

Similar encounters distinguished the following day, when the duke d'Enghen, who commanded the prince de Condé's advanced guard, took from the republicans the formidable posts of Hohlgraben, St. Meger's, and St. Peter, and general Frœlich made himself master of some important points in the valley of Hell. These affairs were only preludes to a general engagement, for which the archduke was making the

19th.

most judicious preparations. His plans were so well formed, and so punctually obeyed, that notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, they were successful in every quarter. The French abandoned Emendingen, and crossed the Eltz at Deningen, where they destroyed the bridge, while the prince de Condé and general Frœlich gained ground on the corps which were opposed to them in the valleys of Hell and St. Peter.

19th.

After this defeat, Moreau took a new position behind the Eltz, and the archduke

20th.

ordered the various divisions of his troops to cross the river for the purpose of again giving him battle; but the day being exhausted in surmounting unexpected difficulties, the attack could not be made, and

and the opposing armies took their positions for the night within half cannon shot of each other, the archduke fully intending to accomplish his projected attack at the first dawn of the morning. Moreau did not, however, think it prudent to await this event, but retreated during the darkness, sending a considerable detachment across the Rhine at New Brisach, and destroying the bridge. Such was the termination of his attempt to maintain himself in the Brisgau, by which, in six days, he lost four thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, while the Imperialists did not lose five hundred.

Prince Charles was joined at Freyburg by the corps of Condé and of general Frœlich, who assisted him in driving the rear-guard of the republicans out of the town. The Austrians supposed the French to be in full retreat towards Upper Alsace, but Moreau halted at Schliengen, twelve miles from Huningen, in a very strong position, by which he hoped to keep his pursuers in check. The attack of this post presented almost insurmountable difficulties; but such was the enthusiasm of the army commanded by an enterprising and popular prince, that the assault was undertaken without hesitation, and crowned with complete success. A violent storm and the approach of night terminated the engagement; when all the posts commanding the flanks of those still occupied by the French had been taken, and when the archduke was preparing on the ensuing day to assail the heights of

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21st.

25th.

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Taunerkirchen, where the right wing of the republicans had retired and taken a position *en potence*, Moreau found it necessary to recommence his retreat, and passed the Rhine at Huningen, unopposed by the Austrians, his army being protected by a strong rear under generals Abbattucci and La Boissiere.

Such was the termination of this celebrated retreat ; in which Moreau, though his proceedings were not entirely exempt from error, shewed consummate judgment, and in which too he was materially assisted by the mistakes of his opponents. After his retreat to Alface, the armies were again separated by the Rhine, in almost the whole length of its course from Basle to Cologne. The attention of the archduke was directed to the reduction of Kehl and Huningen, and Moreau endeavoured to occupy such positions as would prevent the accomplishment of his views. The campaign no longer excited a lively interest in this quarter, as the severity of the season prevented the execution of great enterprises ; but it yet remains to relate some transactions of minor importance, and collateral to the main achievements.

22d Sept.

When the archduke had driven Jourdan beyond the Rhine and the Sieg, he left general Werneck with forty thousand men to keep the French in check. This general made it his chief endeavour to confine his opponents between Dusseldorf and the Sieg, and to block up, as closely as possible, the head of the bridge at Neuweid ; he also contrived

contrived by combined intrenchments to unite the towns of Montebauer and Limburg to the fortrefs of Ehrenbreitstein, and took other judicious meafures for the purpose of preventing the republicans in a future campaign from paffing the Sieg and the Lahn.

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Jourdan, who had previously been a favourite of the directory, was deprived of his command, not more on account of his misfortunes in the field, than of his vigorous remonstrances againft the absurd plan of campaign which he had been obliged to follow. A great portion of his army confidered his complaints well founded; and Beurnonville, on receiving the chief command, had to contend againft personal unpopularity, a fpirit of dejection and defection, and a general want of horfes, artillery, arms, clothes, and provifions. He wifhed to refume active operations, and make a diversion in favour of Moreau: but in vain did he cashier officers, break commissaries, difmifs contractors, and fhoot foldiers; his army was incapable of employment, and the time for enterprife was confumed in internal arrangements.

Beurnonville's embarrassments were increased by the exertions of general Hotze; who, crossing the Rhine at Manheim with nine thousand men, fent part of his force into Alface, while another divifion pushed parties into the Palatinate and the Nahegau as far as Kaiferflautern and Baumholder, attracting the attention of the French, destroying their lines, and levying contributions. Alarmed at this unexpected

CHAP. unexpected irruption, the French corps, in front of
 XX. the Nahe, and in the Hundsruck, marched towards
 1796. the duchy of Deuxponts; while general Neu, governor
 of Mentz, taking advantage of the weak state of the
 blockading corps, drove it back, after several severe
 engagements, behind the Nahe, and took possession
 of Bingen, and some important points on that river.
 As these motions enabled Neu and Hotze to attempt
 something more important, Beurnonville did not
 hesitate to weaken his force on the right bank of the
 Rhine, by marching a large body towards the
 Hundsruck.

21st. Werneck, desirous of deriving advantage
 from this circumstance, and of making a
 diversion favourable to Neu and Hotze, pushed parties
 in boats across the Rhine, who destroyed a bridge
 erected by the French near Neuwied, but were re-
 pulsed in an attack on Coblenz, with a loss of three
 hundred men. Beurnonville made, in his usual style,
 a pompous report of this slight success, stuffed with
 bombast about the tremendous attack of the Austrians,
 the irresistible valour of the French soldiers both on
 land and water, the inconceivable fire of his artillery,
 and concluded by affirming that *all* the Austrians, a
 thousand in number, were killed, drowned, and
 captured. On the same day, however, a severe en-
 gagement took place on the Sieg, between the ad-
 vanced guards of the two armies, in which the French
 were worsted with great loss.

The

The divisions sent from Beurnonville's army 26th and
 restored the superiority of the French in the 27th. CHAP.
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 Hundfruck and on the Nahe; they attacked the 1796.
 Austrians near Kreutznach, and, after a hardy contest
 of two days, compelled them to retire upon the Seltz
 with the loss of three hundred men, while they them-
 selves had an equal number killed and wounded, and
 two hundred captured. The directory, however, con-
 trived to put such appearances on this flight advantage
 as to console the people, and make them believe that
 it fully compensated for the advantages gained over
 Moreau. Three days afterwards the French
 again retired up the Nahe, their chief object 30th.
 having been to cover the march of a division of their
 army towards Kaiferslautern, which division, rein-
 forced by troops dispatched by Moreau, obliged
 general Hotze to retire to his intrenched camp before
 Mannheim. This position, known by the name of the
 fort of the Rhine, is exceedingly strong, and
 Hotze found himself able to maintain it 7th Nov.
 against a vigorous assault by numbers greatly superior.
 Nothing further occurred in this quarter except
 menacing movements, skirmishes, and cannonades,
 which produced no other effect than an unnecessary
 sacrifice of lives.

During this period the French and Au- 6th Dec.
 strian generals agreed that Neuweid should be
 considered as neutral, and be possessed by neither
 party; and at length Kray and Kleber concluded an
 armistice

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armistice on equitable terms. This compact was formally disavowed both by the emperor and the republic, and yet faithfully executed by the contracting parties, to whom its stipulations were rendered necessary by the rigour of the season, the state of the forces, and the nature of the country which they occupied.

Perhaps a principal reason on the part of the Austrians for disavowing the armistice was the progress which the archduke was making in the reduction of the fortresses of Kehl, and the *tête de pont* at Huningen. Kehl is situated on the right bank of the Rhine almost opposite to Strasburg, with which before the war it was connected by a bridge, but that had been broken down on both sides. At the commencement of the war, the fortifications had been almost destroyed, but when the place fell into the hands of the French, they made great efforts to put it in a respectable state of defence, and its temporary capture by general Petrarch, which has already been mentioned, gave a fresh spur to their activity. To render this fort more difficult of approach, they covered it by an intrenched camp, the right of which was flanked by an elbow of the river, and an island in it; while the left extended to the fort itself. The front, which was a great deal more advanced than the wings, was covered by a strong dyke, armed with redoubts, and provided with a good ditch; it concealed the intrenched camp, and thus secured it from the fire of cannon; and the difficulties

difficulties of approach were further increased by cuts made in the Kintzing and Schutter, small rivers which fall into the Rhine near Kehl. It was supplied with a numerous artillery, and a bridge of boats rendered the communication with Straßburg ready and sure.

In this formidable state was Kehl, when the Austrian prince commenced his operations with a full sense of the difficulties awaiting his enterprise, but a full determination to employ all the resources of skill and perseverance in vanquishing them. The fort was ineffectually summoned, and ten days afterwards the trenches opened on the right bank of the Kintzing. On the same day Moreau reinforced the garrison with a large body of infantry under Desaix, which on the ensuing morning made a vigorous sortie, for the purpose of destroying the works, but after a temporary success were repulsed with the loss of two thousand men, the Austrians having lost thirteen hundred. On both sides prodigies of valour were performed: the republicans had four general officers wounded. Another sortie made by the French was attended with no better issue, and the approaches of the besiegers were continued without interruption; till the Austrians, having brought many batteries to bear, made four successive attempts to carry the advanced works which covered the right flank of the entrenched camp, but were in each repulsed with loss. These failures reconciled them to the necessity

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11th and
21st Nov.

22d.

25th.

11th Dec.

of

CHAP. of continuing formal approaches, which were, how-
 XX. ever, made with the greatest difficulty, and retarded
 1796. by cold, snow, rains, and the overflowing of the
 rivers Kintzing and Schutter. The place was defended
 with uncommon vigour; and, besides the effects of
 the weather, of disease, and of hard labour, an almost
 incessant cannonade and bombardment destroyed nu-
 merous lives. Still the Austrians, animated by the
 presence and inspired by the example of their royal
 leader, did not repine at their hardships or intermit
 their labours, and at length made a successful
 19th. attack on an intrenchment thrown up near
 the post-house at Kehl, where they took two hundred
 prisoners and four pieces of cannon.

The fort, as well as the intrenched camp, deriving
 their principal security from the bridges which com-
 municated with Strasburg; and these bridges being,
 by judicious works, protected from attack; the arch-
 duke constructed fire-ships to be floated down the
 Rhine, hoping by their weight or explosion to break
 the bridges. The experiment was carefully
 22d. conducted; but the French had prepared for
 its frustration, by building an escalade above the
 bridges, which stopped the machine, and they pre-
 vented the explosion by seizing the match. Other
 machines were launched but with no better effect;
 and the Austrians lost many men in attempts to carry
 the intrenchments.

These failures did not prevent their completing the
 second

second parallel, and making the approaches of the third; and having pushed them within two hundred paces of the outward works on the left, the prince of Orange and major general Zolf, by direction of the archduke, made a resolute and successful assault on the works which flanked the centre of the intrenched camp, while the workmen carried on with equal bravery and activity the projected parallel.

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The position gained by this spirited exertion, which cost many lives on both sides, was exposed to a severe fire; but the Austrians maintained it with great resolution, till they had established batteries for the purpose of silencing the artillery of their opponents. When these were completed, the archduke prepared for an immediate assault; but the French eluded his design by evacuating the works of the right wing. The besiegers could consequently play on the bridges, and were constructing batteries to destroy them; but the archduke, anxious to terminate the protracted siege, ordered the left wing of the intrenched camp to be stormed, an exploit which, after much resistance, was successfully accomplished. The French were thus driven into the fort, and finding that their communication with Strasburg could speedily be cut off, Defaix agreed to a capitulation, abandoned the fort, and withdrew his troops, with their arms, baggage, and artillery, beyond the river.

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1st Jan.

6th.

9th.

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It was supposed that the republicans maintained possession of the *tête de pont* of Huningen, principally for the purpose of dividing the efforts of the Austrians, and preventing their whole force from assailing Kehl. It was supported and flanked by a considerable horn-work, raised on an island of the Rhine called Shuster island, and protected by the fire of the fortrefs of Huningen, and many batteries erected on the left bank of the Rhine. It was invested early in November by prince Furstenberg; who having made his approaches and summoned, began to bombard it, as well as the Shuster island and the town of Huningen, and broke the bridge which joined the two banks, which, however, the French found means to repair.

30th.

The prince expected that the republicans would give up the *tête de pont*, to prevent the injury which the town must sustain from his operations; but finding this expectation not realised, he ordered an assault on the intrenchments, and got possession of the half-moon and the horn-work, but was repulsed after a bloody conflict, in which he lost eight hundred men. The French lost an equal number, besides their general Abbatucci, to whom they owed the success of the day*.

Convinced

* This general, only twenty-six years of age, was, like Buonaparte, a Corsican by birth, and brought up in the artillery at the beginning

Convinced by this failure that the fate of the *tête de pont* depended on that of Kehl, the prince of Furstenberg carried on his works, and contented himself with cannonading and bombarding the town. The French made several forties, in which they were generally repulsed with disadvantage. The vicinity of Basle occasioned some violations of territory, respecting which both the French and Austrians made strenuous complaints; and the Swiss, in endeavouring to render impartial justice, offended both. After the reduction of Kehl, the archduke dispatched his heavy artillery to the prince of Furstenberg; and the French, finding their situation on the right bank of the Rhine no longer tenable, capitulated, recrossed the river with their arms and baggage, the Austrians taking possession of the *tête de pont* and of the Shuster island. The Imperialists also agreed not to fire on the town of Huningen, on condition that the French would not fire from it on the opposite Austrian posts.

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6th Feb.

This event terminated the campaign in Germany*.

ning of the revolution. He possessed, it is said, as much courage and greater talents than Buonaparte.

* For this chapter, I have consulted solely the History of the Campaign of 1796—London, anonymous.

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CHAP. XXI.

*Campaign in Italy—The French recruit their Army—
 Buonaparte commands the French—Beaulieu the Au-
 strian Army—Battles of Montenotte—Montelezino—
 Dego—and Vico—The King of Sardinia concludes an
 Armistice—The French cross the Po—The Duke of
 Parma purchases Peace—Battle at Lodi—The French
 enter Milan—Oppress the People of Lombardy—Who
 form an Insurrection—Cruelties exercised on them—
 The French pass the Mincio—Beaulieu retreats into
 the Tyrol—The King of Naples and the Pope negotiate
 for an Armistice—Plunder—Insurrection—and Cruelty
 —Unprincipled seizure of Leghorn—The Citadel of
 Milan surrenders—Siege of Mantua formed—The
 Austrian Army reinforced—Wurmser takes the Com-
 mand—His mode of dividing his Force—First successes
 —Siege of Mantua raised—Buonaparte attacks and
 defeats the Division under General Quosdanovich—
 Wurmser defeated at Castiglione—Retreats to the
 Tyrol—Mantua again blockaded—Plan of the French
 —Battle of Roveredo—Action at Primolano—Wurmser
 throws himself into Mantua—The French conclude
 Peace with Naples—Refuse reasonable Terms to the
 Pope—Foment Insurrections at Modena, Bologna, and
 Ferrara—*

Ferrara—The Austrians form a new Army under Alvinzy and Davidovich—Division of their Force—Battle of Fonteniva—Successes of Davidovich—Battle of Arcola—Subsequent Actions—The Expedition of the Austrians frustrated—The French make new Requisitions—and exercise new Severities—Formation of the Cispadan Republic—Preparations of the Pope—Buonaparte seizes Bergamo from the Venetians—New Expedition of the Austrians for Relief of Mantua—Successes of Provera—Measures taken by Buonaparte—Battles before Verona—at Rivoli—and Corona—Attempt of Provera for Relief of Mantua—Frustrated—Alvinzy retreats to the Tyrol—Surrender of Mantua—Buonaparte invades the Papal Territories—and after over-running a great Part, compels the Pope to purchase Peace—Levies Contributions on Tuscany and Venice—General View of the Losses on both Sides—and Result of the Campaign—State of Corsica—Party against the English—who evacuate the Island—General View of naval Events—Capture of Sir Sydney Smith—The French excite Insurrections in several West-India Islands—Expedition under Admiral Christian—Its Success—Islands taken from the Dutch—The French attack Newfoundland—The English Army thinned by the Yellow Fever—The English take from the Dutch Ceylon, Cochin, the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and the Molucca Isles—Attempt to negotiate Peace—Lord Malmshury, after making his first Proposals, ordered to leave France—Spain declares War against England—

England—The French encourage Insurrection in Ireland—and fail in an Attempt to invade that Country.

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campaign in Germany, it yielded in many points to that maintained in Italy. Although the republicans intended to direct their most strenuous efforts towards that quarter, yet as their armies were composed of the very worst soldiers, and they wished to prevent the emperor from recruiting his forces, they appeared to neglect all military precaution, and even abandon Italy to its fate. The recruits, destitute of necessaries, and bound by no laws of subordination, were permitted to retire to their homes, and even desertion was flagrantly connived at. When the appearance of complete disorganisation had brought the allies to believe that no strenuous exertions would be made, the directory, under pretence of quelling or preventing disturbances in the South, drew together forty thousand of their best troops, men who from serving in the Pyrenées were inured to a hot climate, and after keeping them some time in Languedoc, Roussillon, and Provence, suddenly transported them, by forced marches, to Genoa.

The command of this army was given to Buonaparte, the young Corsican, whose activity in suppressing the insurrection of the *treize Vendémiaire* has already been mentioned, and who, in order to qualify himself for

for his new appointment, and to retain an interest with the director Barras, wedded the widow of Alexander Beauharnois, who had, since the murder of her husband, during the days of Robespierre, exchanged with Barras complaisance for protection. The military talents of Buonaparte were not unknown to, or undervalued by, the allies; but their armies in Italy were not put on a footing sufficiently respectable to encounter those of the republic. Influenced by the persuasion of the court of Vienna, the king of Sardinia had, during the winter, refused advantageous proposals of peace and neutrality, and the still more tempting offer of the gift of the Milanese if he would join the French. The emperor, in return, had engaged that his troops in Italy should be augmented to sixty thousand, and general Beaulieu was induced to take the command by a similar promise; but, to the great disappointment both of the king and general, when the campaign was on the eve of commencing, the emperor had given only half the promised reinforcement; and general Argenteau, whose misconduct had occasioned many of the disasters of the late campaign, was not recalled, but still left to command, according to his rank, the right of the army.

Hostilities began early in April, at which period the French had eighty-five thousand, and the allies seventy-five thousand men. After making feints along the whole extent of the Col di Tende, the republicans spread a report of their intention

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CHAP. attention to seize Genoa, and ten or twelve thousand
 XXI. men, under general Laharpe, pushed forward to St.
 1796. Pierre d' Arena, a suburb of the city. Beaulieu, setting
 out from Alexandria to oppose them, took post in the
 front of the defile of Bochetta, and caused a strong
 detachment to advance to the gates of Genoa. The
 chiefs of the government endeavoured to collect troops
 for the defence of their independence, but the internal
 danger of insurrection, from the prevalence of French
 principles, was far more alarming than even the terror
 of violence from without.

General Beaulieu, perceiving that the
 10th April. French became daily more formidable, pre-
 pared a judicious plan of general attack, in which his
 operations were combined with those of general Colli,
 who commanded the Piedmontese troops; and the
 success in execution depended in a great measure on
 the conduct of d'Argenteau. Beaulieu and Colli
 were successful; but d'Argenteau, who was to storm
 an intrenched position, consisting of three great re-
 doubts, was so vigorously resisted at the two first, that
 he did not arrive at the last, situated at Montenotte,

till the day was spent. Rampon, who com-
 11th. manded it, received reinforcements during
 the night, and dispersed them in the neighbouring
 woods; d'Argenteau, incautiously advancing, was
 assailed on all sides, and put to the rout. Fearing he
 should no longer be able to resist the French, he
 wrote to colonel Wuckassowich to join him with three

or four thousand men, but, by an astonishing inadvertence, dated his letter erroneously, and appointed the succours a day later than he intended. In the mean time Buonaparte, having reinforced his right, and ordered Laharpe to advance between generals Beaulieu and Argenteau, marched forward by the valley of Tanaro and the heights of Savona, to turn the right of the Austrians, and separate them from general Colli. The attempt was crowned with success, and victory remained with the French, who took possession of Carcare, and established themselves on the heights surrounding Cairo.

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The French, rapidly advancing, forced the Austrians to risk another general engagement at Montelezino, in which they again essayed their former manœuvre with success, and put d'Argenteau to flight. Colonel Wuckassowich unexpectedly coming up with the men which had been applied for, gained considerable temporary advantages, and might even have turned the fate of the day; but d'Argenteau took no means to rally his troops, and Wuckassowich was obliged, after maintaining an honourable conflict, to retire with great loss. In his precipitate retreat on the twelfth, d'Argenteau had forgotten a detached corps under lieutenant-general Provera, and this officer did not learn the defeat of the allies till he saw the republicans advancing against him. He was prevented from retreating to the Austrians by a sudden swell of the Bormida, and therefore retired, without

14th.

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provisions or water, to a high mountain, where for two days he defended himself with incredible valour against the assault of the whole French army, repulsing them with dreadful carnage, killing two and wounding one of their general officers, and surrendering at last only through fatigue and famine.

Though the battle of Montelezino had greatly weakened the communication between the Austrian and Piedmontese armies, they made no combined movement to approach each other and contract their line; Buonaparte gained the opportunity of placing himself between them, and forcing the Pied-

16th.

montese to act separately. They were attacked in their entrenched camp, and, though they repulsed the assailants, found it necessary to abandon their position the ensuing day, and place themselves between the conflux of the rivers Tanaro and Cursaglia, where, for four days, they resisted

21st.

all efforts to dislodge them: the republicans having, however, crossed the Tanaro, Colli retreated towards Mondovi, but was overtaken and defeated at Vico; and Mondovi, on the same evening, fell into the hands of the French.

The Piedmontese army, being thus entirely separated from the Austrians, took a good defensive position behind the Stura, calculated to prevent the irruption of the French into Piedmont; but the king of Sardinia, fearful of risking his crown on the uncertain issue of a battle, obtained an armistice, at the ex-

pence

pence of the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, and the town of Alexandria ; several important permissions were besides conceded the republicans, particularly those of remaining masters of all the country on the right bank of the Tanaro, of crossing the Po below the town of Valenza, and passing freely through the territories of the king of Sardinia. This armistice was succeeded by a treaty of peace.

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Weakened by this great defection of force, and alarmed at the facilities which it afforded to his opponents, general Beaulieu crossed the Po, and took a position between that river and those of Ticino and Terdoppio, in order to protect the Milanese till the emperor should be able to send reinforcements. Buonaparte, foreseeing the difficulty of crossing so rapid a river as the Po in presence of an enemy, made a feint of attempting a passage at Valenza, and then, proceeding by a forced march to the neighbourhood of Placenza, transported his vanguard to the opposite bank on rafts and flying bridges. Detachments sent by M. de Beaulieu arrived too late to prevent the establishment of the republicans on the left bank of the river ; they were worsted in two skirmishes, and obliged to retreat towards Lodi, where they joined their commander in chief.

5th May.

Terrified at the retreat of the Austrians beyond the Po, the duke of Parma hastened to negotiate peace with the French ; and, as usual, obtained it by purchase : the price to him was two millions of livres

(87,500*l.*),

CHAP. (87,500 l.), 1700 horses, 2000 oxen, an immense
 XXI. quantity of provisions, and twenty paintings to be
 1796. chosen by the French.

10th. Quitting the banks of the Po, Buonaparte soon found his advanced guard in presence of the Austrian rear, which was posted in front of Lodi and the river Adda. A brisk cannonade compelled the Austrians to abandon the town; but major Malcamp, son-in-law to Beaulieu, having caused several pieces of cannon to be placed at the end, so as to enfilade the bridge, while other pieces, on the right and left, took it by a cross fire, would not suffer it to be broken down, not imagining that the French would attempt to cross by force.

Buonaparte waited only for the arrival of all his troops to attempt the desperate exploit: a council of general officers unanimously disapproved the design; but he, being determined on the measure, assembled the grenadiers, and made a speech, animating them to the enterprize. They answered, "Give us some brandy, and we will see what is to be done"—it was afforded them in abundance, and four thousand grenadiers and carbineers, forming a solid column, marched to the attack; but on reaching the extremity of the bridge, were thrice repulsed by discharges of grape-shot. Still Buonaparte persevered, and ordered fresh troops; six generals headed them, and maintained their resolution both by speeches and example. At a moment when the thickness of the smoke produced by

by

by incessant firing obscured them from view, they rushed impetuously forward, gained possession of the cannon at the other extremity, and compelled the Austrians to retreat. In this attack the French lost at least four thousand men; though Buonaparte, in his dispatch to the directory, reduced it to one-tenth of the number. The valour of the troops deserves praise, no less than the conduct of the general merits execration. Never was the blood of the brave shed more wantonly; for other dispositions, and the delay of a few days, would have rendered the passage of the Adda as bloodless as that of the Po. The action, however, had the effect of producing a great portion of national exultation; and the void created in the army was filled by reinforcements from Kellerman, whose longer presence in Savoy was rendered unnecessary by the peace with Sardinia.

M. de Beaulieu being obliged to retire up the Adda, recalled those troops which he had placed on the Ticino and at Milan, which city he evacuated, leaving only eighteen hundred men in the citadel; four thousand French, under Massena, took possession, and on the following day Buonaparte made his triumphal entry, receiving the utmost homage and flattery, and indulging in every species of voluptuousness. He did not forget to impose on Lombardy, as the price of liberty, a contribution of twenty millions of livres (875,000*l.*), and obtained from the duke of Modena half that sum, and

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twenty

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20th.

twenty valuable pictures, for a suspension of arms. The soldiery, animated to redoubled

1796.

licentiousness by a proclamation of Buonaparte, stirring them to vengeance against the Neapolitans and Romans, and promising to enrich them with the spoils Italy, treated Lombardy as a conquered country. Their rapacity, insolent mockery of religious ceremonies, and above all their licentious violation of the

22d.

persons of women, drove the inhabitants to distraction; a general insurrection broke out, the towns and villages armed at the sound of the tocsin, the national cockade was trampled under foot, the trees of liberty cut down, and the republicans found in small parties massacred. Buonaparte, informed of the event, waited not for the forms of investigation or the process of justice, but ordered his troops to march against the principal scenes of insurrection. By his command, the village of Binasco was burnt, and a hundred of its inhabitants put to the sword. The gates of Pavia being shut, were forced open with cannon, the French troops murdered all whom they could find, and pillaged the town. The republican commissaries and generals arrested in all the towns of Lombardy the most considerable persons, many of whom they caused to be shot, and disarmed the inhabitants.

Too weak to dispute with the French the possession of the Milanese, general Beaulieu thought only of covering Mantua and keeping up his communication

with

with Germany, for which purpose he took a good position on the Mincio; but Buonaparte having forced the passage of that river near Borghetto, and marched a column of his army towards Pefchiera and Castelnuovo, in the intention of cutting him off from the road to Verona and Trente, the Austrian general was obliged to give up all communication with Mantua, and retreat towards the Adige. Mantua was abundantly supplied with provisions, and M. de Beaulieu, after placing in it a garrison of twelve thousand men, had only fourteen thousand left, at the head of whom he effected a judicious and orderly retreat, traversing the states of Venice, and gaining the narrow passes of the Tyrol, where he made excellent dispositions for defence.

The French, being thus masters of their movements in Italy, spread themselves in every direction, plundering the people without shame or remorse. Terror produced applications for an armistice from the king of Naples and the pope. The territories of Naples being too far removed from the scene of French conquest to be subjected to a contribution, nothing was required but a separation of the troops of that country from those of the emperor. The pope was, on the contrary, in the very grasp of the republicans; Buonaparte took possession of Bologna, Ferrara, and fort Urbino, and the pontiff was offered the boon of forbearance on yielding to the French

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4th June.

29th.

CHAP. French the possession of those places and the citadel
 XXI. of Ancona, and on payment of twenty one millions
 1796. of livres (918,750 l.), a hundred paintings, and two
 hundred precious manuscripts. Besides these extortions,
 the French imposed on the pope, as they had done
 on the king of Sardinia, the hard necessity of recalling
 and setting at liberty all persons charged with revolu-
 tionary practices; a requisition more hard and de-
 grading than the fact of dethroning a monarch, since
 the love and respect which misfortune would in that
 case have met with were by this conduct rooted
 from the minds of subjects, and criminals, set above
 their judges, offered arguments and encouragements
 to others to associate with them in villainy.

From the towns thus acquired the French obtained
 heavy artillery and stores for the siege of Mantua;
 and their artists, not content with the spoils of Rome,
 plundered Milan, Pavia, Parma, and Placenza, of
 their choicest works. Insurrections, excited by the
 lawless violence of the French, were punished with
 the most savage rigour; a tumult at Arquata occa-
 sioned the burning of several villages, the shooting of
 a great number of the most respectable inhabitants,
 and all the rigours of military despotism. The inha-
 bitants of Romagna, who attempted to avenge their
 own wrongs, were treated with equal severity; the
 town of Lugo and several villages were burnt, and
 hundreds of the peasants put to the sword. The
 Italians,

Italians, though prevented by these dreadful means of coercion from open violence, pursued their habitual course of secret vengeance; and the filetto, the climate, and the intemperance of the republicans, thinned their ranks, though no longer opposed to the sword of the Austrians.

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While the sins of the inhabitants of Italy against the laws of nations were so severely avenged the French themselves shewed a thorough contempt of all law but that of convenience by the unprincipled seizure of Leghorn, notwithstanding the conclusion of peace with Tuscany. They hoped to gain possession of the English property in the town and harbour; but the British ships had quitted the port, freighted with their own wealth, and the greatest part of the magazines and effects belonging to the government and the native merchants. The plunderers, disappointed of their prey, sought recompence by seizing any thing they could find, under pretence of its being English; and they were further gratified by excluding the fleets of that nation from the port.

27th.

During these transactions, the French made themselves masters of the castle of Milan, which surrendered after a siege of twelve days; and after investing it for some time opened the trenches before Mantua, which was vigorously defended by count Canto d'Irles,

29th.

18th July.

On receiving information of the defection of the king of Sardinia, and the consequent loss of the Milanese,

CHAP. Milanese, the cabinet of Vienna ordered all the troops
 XXI. stationed in Carinthia and Styria to proceed by forced
 1796. marches to the Tyrol; and some thousands of the natives of that country were formed into corps of chasseurs, for which they were extremely well adapted. Field-marshal Wurmser also departed from the Rhine with more than thirty thousand effective men, to supersede Beaulieu; but from the fatigues incident to so long a march, the troops were obliged to continue a considerable time in inaction.

29th. Leaving ten thousand men in the bishopric of the Inspruck to observe the French, Wurmser began his march at the head of forty-seven thousand men, divided into three principal bodies, commanded, in subordination to himself, by generals Quosdanovich, Mezaros, Melas, and Davidovich. The column of the right, under Quosdanovich, surprised the posts of Salo and Brescia, making prisoners two thousand men and three generals, besides other officers, and advanced on the roads from Brescia to Mantua and Verona to take the French in the rear and favour the attack of

30th. the centre column. That division had forced all the posts along the Adige, taking fifteen hundred men, and driving back the French as far as the Mincio. Buonaparte, fearful of being surrounded, precipitately raised the siege of Mantua, though he had advanced the works within a hundred paces of the covered way; and the garrison, while he was retiring, made a vigorous sortie, took six hundred of his rear, his

his besieging artillery and ammunition, consisting of a hundred and thirty-four cannon and mortars and a hundred and forty thousand shot and balls, and effectually destroyed his works.

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Placed between the two Austrian columns, Buonaparte speedily concentrated his forces to attack Quosdanovich before he could effect a junction with Wurmser, and successively assaulted detachments of his force at Lonado, Montechiaro, Dezen- zano, Brescia, and Salo. In all these actions the Austrians behaved with great valour, and some terminated in their favour; but at length all the corps were completely routed, dispersed, and obliged to escape into the mountains of the Tyrol, after having nearly one half of their number killed or taken prisoners.

31st July to
3d Aug.

Being thus freed from one division of his opponents, Buonaparte returned with twenty-eight thousand men to meet Wurmser, who, having crossed the Mincio, was advancing with eighteen thousand to join Quosdanovich. At Castiglione, the whole French army attacked the advanced guard under general Lyptay. The Austrians, after a unanimous defence, were advancing to lay down their arms, when the French perceived Wurmser's main body approaching, and retreated to gain a fresh position. The Imperialists, who had performed a fatiguing march during extreme heat, were attacked before they had formed, but maintained their ground, and

3d Aug.

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and prevented the republicans from penetrating into the plain which separated their right and left. The two armies passed the night within musket-shot of each other, but were prevented by fatigue from engaging, nor did they renew the combat even on the next day. The Austrians did not even take pains to improve their position, considering that an engagement could not take place for some days ; but early

5th. on the ensuing morning their whole line was attacked, their left turned, and their rear

threatened. They fought with great courage ; but their own errors not less than the force of the French decided the fate of the day : Wurmser, persevering even to obstinacy, was at length persuaded to retreat, with the loss of three thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon. He passed the Mincio at Valeggio, and, still pursued by the republicans, regained the Tyrol, with little more than half his original force. He had, however, succeeded in victualling, storing, and recruiting Mantua, which was thus again enabled to resist a long blockade. The final misfortunes of this expedition, which in its outset promised so favourably, are in a great measure ascribed to an useless diversion, which Wurmser directed Mezaros to make, and in which he never fired a shot. The total loss of the Austrians in these few days was seventeen thousand men, of whom three hundred and ninety-one were officers ; that on the side of the French exceeded ten thousand, but they had also suffered most severely

severely from heat, and the effects of forced marches. CHAP.
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 During the remainder of August both armies were endeavouring to strengthen themselves by recruits; 1796.
 Wurmser had again raised his numbers to near fifty thousand; and Buonaparte, having received reinforcements from Kellermann, reconstructed the works for the blockade of Mantua.

At this period the directory formed the gigantic plan of uniting the armies of Moreau, Jourdan, and Buonaparte, on the banks of the Danube, for the purpose of invading the dominions of the house of Austria, annihilating its supremacy over Germany, and disposing of the riches and destiny of that vast country. To execute this project, Buonaparte must destroy the remainder of Wurmser's army, force the passes of the Tyrol, and march into Bavaria.

He therefore attacked the whole line of the ^{4th Sept.} Austrians, and forced them at Roveredo, making himself master of the city, and great part of the duchy of Trent.

Wurmser, acquainted with Buonaparte's design, attempted to disconcert it by a diversion for the relief of Mantua, and for that purpose took with him the choicest men, both infantry and cavalry, and proceeded along the Brenta. Buonaparte was indeed surpris'd at his opponent's move, but instead of falling back along the Adige towards Verona, as Wurmser had expected, he set forward in pursuit of him in the road from Trent to Bessano, thus cutting him off entirely

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7th. entirely from his troops in the Tyrol. He came up with the field-marshal's rear guard at Primolano, and defeated it with considerable loss; but Wurmser still advancing with the greatest rapidity, 11th. traversed Vicenza, passed the Adige, and defeated a French division at Ceria, and arrived with ten thousand men under the walls of 13th. Mantua, where he repelled an attack of the republicans, taking fifteen hundred prisoners and ten pieces of cannon. He found, however, that his junction with the garrison of Mantua rendered the acquisition of forage an object of more immediate importance than the pursuit of victory, and therefore spent the greater part of the month of October in excursions for that necessary purpose. Buonaparte too, finding that Wurmser's unexpected move and the exploits of the archduke Charles had disappointed the hopes he had been led to form, drew the greater part of his army round Mantua, leaving two corps to observe the Austrians in the Trentino and Friuly.

While hostilities were thus suspended, the armistice with the king of Naples was converted into a definitive treaty of peace; this compact was highly advantageous to the republicans, as it detached from the cause of the emperor an army of eighty thousand men which the king had collected: but the pope, who had also applied for peace, and who never had declared war, was an easy and desirable prey, and therefore such terms alone were offered to him as would have been deemed

deemed harsh and cruel from a conqueror to an helpless foe, and he was obliged to reject them, though hopeless of maintaining by force his political existence. The French rejoiced at his determination, and, at the same time, began to execute their project of fomenting revolutions and forming separate republics in Italy. They would not call to independence the inhabitants of Lombardy, over whom they were still resolved to tyrannise; but they caused revolt among the subjects of the duke of Modena, and in the towns of Bologna and Ferrara, inflaming the lower class by their detestable doctrines, arming, and training them to the military profession, and encouraging them to acts which would make them hate and fear their former governors.

In the same period the Austrians were employing every effort to reinforce their regiments in the Tyrol and Friuly, which they at length completed, and were able to muster near seventy thousand, while the French had only sixty thousand men, ten thousand of whom, being in garrisons, could not be brought into the field. The Austrian troops were divided among generals Alvinzy, Davidovich, and Wurmser, who with more than twenty thousand was shut up in Mantua. Alvinzy, leaving Friuly with thirty thousand men, traversed the Trevisano, forced the passage of the Brenta, and posted himself with twelve thousand men at Bassano, placing a like number at Fonteniva under general Provera, while

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CHAP. the rest of his troops maintained his communication
XXI. with Davidovich.

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5th. Buonaparte having reunited several divisions of his army at Vicenza, quitted that place in the night, and suddenly falling on general Provera, drove him beyond the Brenta, and broke down the bridge. The contest was, however, extremely obstinate and bloody, four thousand Austrians

7th. and as many French having been killed and wounded. General Alvinzy immediately drew nearer to Provera, and they were preparing to renew the conflict, when Buonaparte quitted the field of battle. He had learnt that his troops in the Trentino had been four times defeated by Davidovich, who, besides killing a great number, had taken two thousand prisoners, made himself master of the town of Trent, and pursued the French to Rivoli and La Corona.

8th to 13th. On the retreat of the republicans, Alvinzy took possession of Vicenza, dislodged them from Montebello, and, after a smart action, compelled them to fall back into Verona. He then made a move to draw nearer to Davidovich, and Buonaparte filed a large column of troops along the Adige, passed that river by a bridge of boats at Roneo, and marched towards Villanova, hoping to surprize the rear of the Austrians, and carry off their artillery and baggage. His progress was arrested by a corps intrenched in the village of Arcola, surrounded with morasses and canals.

This

This position was maintained during the whole day against the efforts of almost the whole French army : in vain were the expedients which had succeeded at Lodi repeated ; in vain did the generals put themselves at the head of the troops ; in vain did Buonaparte make repeated harangues, and even lead them several times in person to the assault ; an incessant fire of grape and musketry drove them back, and five general officers were killed or wounded. While Buonaparte was thus squandering the blood of his followers, a detached division succeeded (not without strong suspicion of treachery in the Austrian officer who should have guarded the post) in crossing the Adige lower down ; they made an extensive circuit, attacked the village on a weak point during the night, and made themselves masters of it, with five pieces of cannon and four hundred men.

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Alvinzy, advancing with all his forces on the points menaced, promoted the views of Buonaparte by removing still further from Davidovich ; the French, on his approach, evacuated the village of Arcola, and during the two following days severe and bloody battles were fought, which terminated to the disadvantage of the Austrians, who were compelled to retire in disorder to Bonifacio. The conflict was so sanguinary, that fifteen French generals were killed or wounded, and all had their clothes pierced with bullets.

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17th. The Austrians retired to Vincenza, but the French were too much enfeebled to pursue them with vigour; and general Davidovich speedily deprived them of many advantages of their late victories, by attacking general Vaubois

18th. on the Upper Adige, and driving him with great slaughter to Peschiera. Davidovich had by these means advanced within a few leagues of Mantua, when Buonaparte, alarmed at his success, joined

21st. Vaubois, and attacked him on the heights of Campara, where Davidovich, being greatly inferior in force, made little resistance, but retired to Alla. The expedition for the relief of Mantua was thus completely frustrated, as well through the errors and want of mutual good understanding in the Austrian generals, as through the astonishing activity and promptitude of Buonaparte, in attacking each division separately, and preventing their junction. The garrison was, however, supplied with forage and provisions, in consequence of a vigorous and well-directed sortie made by Wurmsler; and the remainder of November and the whole month of December passed away without any important conflict.

Buonaparte went, during this interval, to Milan; and as general Clarke was at that place on a pacific mission, it was erroneously supposed that a probability of his success occasioned the inactivity of the troops; but for this event other causes are assigned. The severity

severity of the season prevented vigorous exertion ; both sides expected reinforcements ; and the French, in particular, were in want of supplies. The once fertile and happy country of Lombardy was exhausted by repeated requisitions ; the commissaries and the generals were shamefully enriched by plunder ; and the soldiers, following their example, resembled more a horde of barbarians than the army of a civilised nation. The haughtiness of Buonaparte offended the French generals, and a strong faction against him was headed by Berthier ; but the directory, interposing their authority, suppressed the public indications of this spirit of opposition. To supply the immediate wants and recruit the ranks of his army, Buonaparte convoked a general assembly at Milan, demanding five millions of livres (218,750*l.*) and a levy of twenty-five thousand men ; and laid proportionate contributions on Ferrara, Bologna, and Lodi. The latter city made a spirited resistance ; but the Corsican conqueror, declaring it in a state of siege, gave it up to plunder.

While thus exercising the most rapacious tyranny, Buonaparte, in conformity to the spirit and instructions of the governors of France, made pretended sacrifices to liberty, by encouraging the duchies of Modena, Ferrara, and Bologna, to form a federal convention, with all the follies of primary assemblies, committees of public safety and general security, and all the horrors which attended the same proceedings in
France ;

CHAP. France ; and thus laid the basis of a new state, called,
 XXI. at that time, the Cispadan Republic.

1796. The pope, driven to extremities by the insolence of the French, was making preparations for resistance, rather ostentatiously than really vigorous : he levied twenty thousand men, who were well clothed and provided, but utterly unexperienced in arms ; and confided the command to general Colli, who had formerly led the troops of the king of Sardinia.

Wurmser had in this period, by frequent forties, obtained a considerable portion of supplies ; and Buonaparte, becoming sensible that he could not reduce Mantua but by new victories in the field, quitted Milan, and having by compulsory levies recruited his forces, in contempt of the laws of nations and rights of neutrality, seized the Venetian citadel of Bergamo, without a better pretence to sanction his proceeding than a suspicion of unfriendly dispositions towards the French government. The

19th Dec. Austrians, at the same time, made several feints tending to give anxiety respecting other operations, while their real aim was only the relief of Mantua.

Before the end of December, the Austrian army was again reinforced to near fifty thousand men ; and general Alvinzy, informed, through the courage and address of colonel Graham, that with every attention to economy the provisions could not last beyond

1797. the end of January, hastened measures for relieving

relieving the place: about ten thousand of his men were before Padua, under Provera, an equal number were at Bassano, and Alvinzy had upwards of twenty-five thousand in the Tyrol, while the French, with all their reinforcements, did not muster more than forty thousand. According to a preconcerted plan, Provera attacked and defeated the republicans, taking the posts of Casella, Meclara, and San Salvaro, and obliging them to retire to Bevilaqua, and subsequently to Porto Legnano, where Augereau, with ten thousand men, defended the Lower Adige. Similar successes on the ensuing day brought Provera to the banks of the Adige, where he must force a passage in order to reach Mantua.

Buonaparte was, at this period, at Bologna, occupied in the double task of endeavouring to terrify the pope into an abject submission, and to extort from the grand-duke of Tuscany two millions of livres (87,500*l.*) as a reward for defending the port of Leghorn against the English*. Informed of the late events, he hastened first to the blockade of Mantua, and then to Verona, where he found Massena engaged with part of an Austrian column from Bassano, while attacks on all other parts of their line kept the French in suspense as to the ultimate project of their opponents. The successes of the Au-

* This iniquitous and insulting demand was afterwards made and complied with.

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13th. Austrians on the right and left wings of his army, induced Buonaparte to send the division of Massena from Verona towards Rivoli; and he went post himself, with all his staff, to the same place, where he arrived in the middle of the night.

14th. Alvinzy, not expecting that such a reinforcement would be obtained, had made arrangements for a general attack; and although, after the commencement of his operations, he perceived the error of his calculation, he felt obliged to persevere. A battle was fought with the most determined obstinacy, in which the French were for a time vanquished, and in danger of being surrounded; the post of Rivoli was taken from them, lost by the Austrians, regained, and again conquered by the French. The genius and promptitude of Buonaparte were eminently conspicuous in retrieving the day at its most critical moments, and his plans were so well executed, that the preparations of the Austrians turned to their own destruction, their front was routed, and obliged to retreat in confusion towards Corona; while four thousand men, who had turned Rivoli, were killed or captured. The issue of this battle ruined all the measures taken for penetrating into the duchy of Mantua, and relieving its capital. A portion of the French force left under Joubert pursued the Austrians to Corona, and, defeating them without any great resistance, compelled them again to retreat towards the Tyrol.

To

To the celerity of his movements Buonaparte had frequently been indebted for success; and after the battle of Rivoli, he proceeded, without taking repose, or allowing any to his troops, to oppose general Provera, who had passed the Adige, and was preparing to attack the lines of the blockade of Mantua; but his rear-guard having been cut off by generals Guieux and Augereau, he had with him only five thousand men. A joint operation was concerted between him and Wurmser for assailing the lines at La Favorite and Montado, but in the previous night Buonaparte and Massena arrived with six thousand men, and strengthened those very positions, augmenting the whole blockading army to seventeen thousand, while Augereau was expected with an additional force. The attempt was made; but, after an obstinate engagement, Provera was obliged to yield his whole corps prisoners of war, and Wurmser again to retire within the walls of the city. Thus terminated this expedition for relieving Mantua, in which neither the valour and judgment of Buonaparte nor the errors of the Austrian commanders contributed so much to their overthrow, as the information which the leader of the French always obtained of the intentions of his opponents; information so precise and so true as to place it beyond a doubt that it was not furnished by a common spy, but by some one who was acquainted with all that passed in the councils of the generals.

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Alvinzy now thought only of saving the wrecks of his army in the Tyrol ; but their retreat was harassed by the French, who defeated them at Carpedenolo, took the towns of Torbole, Roveredo, and Trent, and finally compelled them to take refuge in the most impenetrable defiles of the mountains.

The garrison of Mantua consisted originally of twenty-four thousand men ; six thousand were dead by the sword, disease, and famine, and an equal number in the hospitals, when the brave veteran Wurmser, convinced that, after the late disasters, he had nothing further to hope for, reluctantly and tardily
2d Feb. capitulated. He obtained for his garrison terms uncommonly honourable and liberal, and for the inhabitants of the town freedom to exercise their religion and retain their privileges. This capitulation was the only instance Buonaparte had given of a mind accessible to any of the feelings of humanity ; it occasioned many to miscalculate his character, by supposing that success and the worth of an humbled opponent might render him less ferocious.

Having thus defeated the views of the Austrians in Italy, Buonaparte resumed his plans of plunder and dismemberment. After the defeat of Alvinzy and Provera, he reinforced the troops in the duchies of Bologna and Ferrara, and dispatched general Victor thither with orders to penetrate into Romagna ; but he soon assumed the command of this expedition himself, and having proclaimed a termination of the armistice
between

between his holiness and the French, and paved the way for further success by means equally crafty and treacherous, made himself master of Imola.

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The next day he marched with his new Italian levies, supported by French troops, against Faenza, in front of which the papal forces were entrenched, behind the river Senio. The attack of the French was awaited with firmness, but it was successful; the opponents of Buonaparte being repulsed in every direction, and no other impediment remained to prevent his assailing Faenza. 1st Feb.

On his arrival before the walls of this town, the inhabitants flew to arms; but the gates being forced, the priests and monks were assembled, and Buonaparte harangued them, and, as he said, brought them back to the *principles of the Gospel*. Relying on the effect of his speech, he dispatched two superiors of religious orders to Ravenna and Cesenna, to prepare the inhabitants for his reception*.

Advancing into Romagna, the French took the town of Forli and that of Casenna, near which runs the famous Rubicon, and pursued their march without opposition. Entering the duchy, Buonaparte made himself master of Urbino, where he took twelve hundred prisoners, and a great quantity of cannon

* It was an extraordinary circumstance, that one of the most strenuous supporters of the anti-religious faction should make choice of two monks for his ambassadors.

and

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and arms of all forts. Loretto was also taken ; but the French were disappointed in their hopes of finding the boasted treasures of the Holy Virgin, the greater part having been previously removed.

On this occasion, Buonaparte again assumed a momentary semblance of humanity, by issuing a mild proclamation in behalf of the banished French priests, recommending the melioration of their condition ; and then continued to advance into the territories of the church, directing his march to Macerata and Foligno, Rome was filled with consternation ; the principal inhabitants prepared to quit the city, and his holiness himself made dispositions for the safety of his person. The riches of Rome and Loretto being sent to Terracina, the pope offered to make all the sacrifices which the French commander had exacted ; and Buonaparte, seeing the impolicy of penetrating further, and thus affording the Austrians an opportunity of regaining their losses, preferred a treaty, which gave him all the advantages that he could expect from war.

The executive directory entertaining similar sentiments of policy, Buonaparte, by their in-
13th Feb. struction, commenced a negotiation, which was soon followed by the conclusion of peace. The pope gave up to the French Avignon, the Comtat, Venaissin, the duchies of Bologna and Ferrara, and the legation of Romagna ; agreed to pay fifteen millions of livres (656,250*l.*) besides the twenty-one millions stipulated in the armistice, of which five millions only had been paid ;

paid; the French were to retain possession of the citadel of Ancona till peace should be established on the continent, and likewise of the provinces of Macerata, Umbria, Perugia, and Camerino, till the whole thirty-six millions should be paid. They also confirmed the articles which stipulated the gift of the statues, pictures, and precious manuscripts.

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Thus was the pope, who had never declared war against the French, and who had only taken up arms for the purpose of self-defence, obliged to purchase the preservation of the throne of St. Peter, at the expence of nearly one third of the dominions of the church, and a larger sum than the amount of his revenues for a year. Having effected this purpose, Buonaparte employed himself in laying also under contribution the grand-duke of Tuscany and the republic of Venice. Thus the French made this campaign at the expence of the neutral powers, who, for the sake of neutrality, which was constantly violated, made greater sacrifices than it would have cost them to repel invasion or defend the frontiers of Italy.

In the course of the preceding narrative, the accounts of killed, wounded, and prisoners, have not been constantly given; because those which are derived from the authority of French reports are almost invariably false. Buonaparte proved himself so great a proficient in the school of Barrere, that his dispatches collectively asserted that he had taken, killed, or wounded, forty-five thousand men more than his opponents.

CHAP. opponents ever possessed in Italy. The fact seems to
 XXI. be, that during this tremendous conflict, the Austrians
 1796. lost seventy-five thousand men, the republicans sixty
 thousand; a dreadful proof of the barbarous in-
 difference with which the latter sacrificed lives to pro-
 cure victories, when their successes were attended with
 so heavy a loss.

The advantages obtained by the French in this
 quarter are summed up in these terms. Piedmont in-
 vaded, and the king of Sardinia forced to an ignominious
 peace; Lombardy conquered; both banks of the Po
 republicanised; the king of Naples detached from
 the coalition; the pope deprived of nearly one third
 of his dominions; all the north of Italy a prey to the
 miseries of war, and to political convulsions; that
 country, but lately so rich and flourishing, robbed of
 its wealth and splendor; and a hundred millions
 of livres (4,375,000*l.*) extorted from the different
 countries under pretext of purchasing peace, ransom,
 or neutrality*.

While such was the progress of the war on the con-
 tinent of Europe, that which Great Britain main-
 tained against France and her allies, in the islands and
 settlements and on the ocean, did not present so many
 causes for triumph, though it was not altogether
 disastrous to the republicans. The rapid success and
 unprincipled violation of territory in Italy contributed

* From History of the Campaign of 1796, &c. vol. I. part ii.

to the restoration of Corsica to France. The fickleness and injustice of the Corsicans had given the utmost uneasiness to sir Gilbert Elliot, the British viceroy; and the frequent complaints and extravagant expectations of the people had occasioned much unpleasant correspondence from the moment the island was annexed to the British crown: but when the Corsican Buonaparte was acquiring such splendid honours in Italy, his countrymen could no longer refrain from an anxious wish to share his fame, by allying themselves to the cause which he defended.

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A numerous and active party was formed against the English, and, as they constantly maintained a private intercourse with the French, they obtained arms, advice, and supplies of every kind; the taxes imposed by the British government were withheld, and their stores plundered; Paoli was obliged again to seek refuge in London, and the English were safe from surprise and assassination only in garrison towns. To prevent the furnishing of supplies to the English, and facilitate the distribution of assistance to the Corsicans, was one motive for the seizure of Leghorn. The English, having a complete

6th July.

naval superiority in the Mediterranean, seized Porto Ferrajo, in the island of Elba; but it proved neither in situation nor resources adequate to the advantages of which the republicans had deprived them. The insurgents in Corsica received daily assistance

22d Dec.

practicable

CHAP. practicable endeavour to retain possession of the island,
 XXI. the troops of Great Britain were obliged to evacuate
 1796. it, and the French immediately re-entered into possession*.

In 1795 a squadron, under admiral Richery, sailed from Toulon on a secret expedition; and after capturing part of a convoy in the Mediterranean, had the good fortune to return in safety to port: but in general the naval ascendancy of Great Britain was honourably maintained during that and the ensuing year in many glorious encounters, which rendered illustrious the admirals and seamen of the country, but which are not enumerated, as they did not visibly affect the course of continental affairs. The names of Warren, Pellew, Hotham, Colpoys, Bridport, Murray, Cornwallis, Trollope, and sir Sydney Smith, will remain for ever celebrated for the zeal, judgment, valour, and enterprising spirit, they displayed on every occasion. The last of these officers, after achieving a great variety of honourable and
 19th April. daring exploits, was taken prisoner in an attempt to cut out some vessels from the harbour of Havre de Grace. The French government, with characteristic injustice and inhumanity, conducted him a prisoner to Paris, and lodged him in the Temple under a strong guard.

* Desadeards, vol. VII. p. 76, et seq. and the other histories; and Rose's Naval History of the War, chap. vi.

In the West Indies the progress of the year 1795 was successful to the French, not in consequence of their superiority in arms, so much as the revolutionary art of exciting insurrections among the slaves in the British colonies, and supporting them by detachments of French soldiers; the English were by these means divested of St. Lucie, St. Vincents, and part of Grenada, and the Maroons of Jamaica were incited to insurrection. St. Eustatia, which had been taken from the Dutch, was recaptured; fort Tiburon in St. Domingo yielded after a brave resistance, to three armed vessels; and the French were unsuccessful only in an attempt on Dominica. The insurrections were attended with uniform horrors and depredations, and, contrary to the experience of former wars, the contest in this was to be maintained not for the mere possession, but for the very existence, of the colonies.

To meet this exigency, the British ministry prepared a powerful and well-appointed armament under admiral sir Hugh Christian, and placed on board a respectable land force commanded by sir Ralph Abercromby. A tempestuous winter and some unforeseen accidents prevented the sailing of this squadron till spring, and its operations were brilliant and successful. St. Lucie was recaptured after a vigorous resistance; St. Vincents yielded with less difficulty; and the rebellion in Grenada was crushed, though not without great loss of lives, the brigands

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15th May.

26th July.

having

CHAP. having murdered all the white people in their power,
 XXI. and then retired to the woods, where they were exter-
 1796. minated by rifle-men.

April and Holland too, which had declared war against
 June. Great Britain, suffered as an ally of France in
 this quarter of the globe. Demarara, Berbice, and
 Essequibo, with a vast quantity of produce, were con-
 quered by a naval force under captain Parr, and a
 19thSept. military detachment under major-general
 Whyte. On the other hand, Richery, who
 had again failed on a secret expedition, and been for
 several months blocked up in Cadiz, suddenly ap-
 peared with seven sail of the line off Newfoundland,
 and, after committing some unimportant acts of de-
 struction, and paltry depredations, returned to France,
 proud of his inglorious achievement. The progress
 of British exertion was, however, checked by the
 prevalence of a disorder dreadfully mortal, called the
 yellow fever : Guadaloupe still remained in the hands
 of the republicans, and some advantages gained in St.
 Domingo did not make amends for the multitudes
 swept away by this contagious malady.

Not in the West Indies alone did Holland pay the
 forfeiture of her treachery towards Great Britain ; in
 the East her most valuable possessions were wrested
 from her. In 1795, Ceylon and Cochin yielded to the
 English force, and the Cape of Good Hope, that im-
 portant middle station between Europe and India, was
 also captured. In the ensuing year, Batavia and
 Amboyna,

Amboyna, and the rest of the Molucca Isles, fell into the power of England; and the Dutch were foiled in a rash and ill-conducted enterprize for the recovery of the Cape of Good Hope *.

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While England was thus prosecuting the war with vigour, her ministers endeavoured to negotiate a treaty with the republic, though their own judgment and the avowed temper of the French nation did not permit them to hope for success. The embassador employed on this important affair was lord Malmfbury, a nobleman whose long services in the diplomatic line, whose knowledge, experience, and integrity, inspired the utmost confidence that the interests of his country or the claims of her allies would not be sacrificed by him through ignorance or inattention. After much previous discussion, a passport was ^{27th Sept.} furnished for him to visit Paris. It is not necessary to state the progress of a negotiation of which the unfavourable termination could not but be anticipated: lord Malmfbury required a general peace, attended with a cession of territories conquered from the allies of England, offering in return an unreserved restitution of all conquests made by his country, provided it could be effected without injury to the general

* It is generally believed, that the French for a very valuable consideration offered to furnish a force to assist the Dutch in this enterprize; but that, having received the money, they refused to fulfil their engagement. From Rose's Naval History, where also the facts in the narrative are found.

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Decemb. balance of powers. The French government answered by ordering him to quit their territories, and published an angry manifesto in vindication of their proceeding*.

Aug. to Decemb. Much more discussion was employed in endeavouring to appreciate the justice of lord Malmsbury's propositions than could be bestowed on the probable termination of his mission. France had, in fact, no disposition to make peace with Great Britain. She had stirred up Spain to a declaration of war, and hoped by the union of their joint forces with those of Holland to overwhelm the British navy. She had besides been fomenting discontents in Ireland; and, by means of a desperate and turbulent faction,

21st Dec. called United Irishmen, hoped to succeed in an invasion †. For this object a secret expedition was equipped from Brest; and, after keeping the British fleet for some time in suspense, one division, consisting of eight ships with two decks and nine of different classes, anchored in Bantry Bay.

24th. Hoche was on board one of the frigates; but so ill was the whole squadron equipped, and so little attention had been paid to the necessary regulations, that the ships had sailed singly, and he was separated from the main body of the fleet, and no intelligence of him could be obtained.

* See proceedings in parliament, and State Papers.

† See the confession of Arthur O'Connor.

As the inhabitants of the country near which the squadron had anchored, made every effort to oppose a landing, the French commander did not attempt it; but after remaining four days, again set sail, and returned to Brest, having lost by tempest and capture seven ships. In a few days they were joined by Hoche, who had the good fortune to escape from the pursuit of lord Bridport, and arrived at Brest after a month of continual tempest*.

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27th. 1796.

* See Gazettes; Histories; Vie de Hoche, vol. I. p. 303.

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Distress of Government—Message of the Directory—Schemes for raising Cash—ineffectual—Detection of a Royalist Conspiracy—The Parties ordered to be tried by a military Commission—and condemned to Imprisonment—Injustice of the Directory—View of the Campaign—Tyranny, Oppression, and Cruelty, of the French in the Dominions of the Pope and other Countries—State of the French and Austrian Armies—The Archduke Charles commands the Imperialists—Views of the Generals—Position of the Armies—Commencement of Hostilities—Success of Massena in the Countries of Feltre and Belluna—Passage of the Tagliamento—Capture of Gradiska—Proceedings in the Tyrol—Battles of Lavis, Tramen—and Clauzen—New Plan of the Archduke—Battle of Tarvis—His Anxiety—Ardent Loyalty of the People of the Hereditary States—Further advance—and difficulties of Buonaparte—Efforts of a Peace Faction in the Cabinet of Vienna—Buonaparte's Letter and Proclamation—His Progress in Carinthia, Styria, and Istria—An Armistice agreed on—Transactions in the Tyrol till the Period of the Truce—The People rise en Masse to reinforce the Austrian Army—who, after several Successes, drive the French

French into the Citadel of Verona—Insurrection against the French—Their Treachery in exciting revolutionary Commotions in the States of Venice—Treaty of Leoben—Campaign on the Rhine—Position and Force of the Armies—Hoche crosses the Rhine at Neuwied—Carries the Intrenchments of the Austrians—Crosses the Labn—Invests Ehrenbreitstein—Crosses the Nidda—and is nearly Master of Frankfort when informed of the Treaty of Leoben—Moreau crosses the Rhine near Strasburgh—Contest for the Village of Diersheim—Further Successes of the French—They take Fort Kehl—and other Places—when their Progress is stopped by Intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben.

IN making overtures for a general peace, and yet impeding the conclusion of that desirable event, the directory could not expect to render their sway popular, as the value of their conquests was much doubted, and the public, impelled by reflection, and pressed by necessity, were extremely anxious for repose. The state of the finances continued to be a source of continual debates, and schemes of fraud and imposture were daily presented for supplying the treasury with money, although the government was divested of credit. This domestic penury, while a victorious army was plundering the most wealthy states of Europe, should convince the people of all countries, that economy, public faith, general industry, and rigid justice, can alone preserve them from

CHAP. from distress, and that, without these qualities, the
 XXII. } entire treasures of a subjugated world would be seized
 1796. } in vain; individuals might be shamefully enriched,
 but the community must continue poor, oppressed,
 and hopeless.

10th Dec. Messages for supply produced only debates
 in the councils, in which the improvidence
 and ignorance of government were copiously exposed,
 and the directory were at last obliged to solicit at-
 tention by an affecting, though not overcharged,
 picture of public calamity. "All parts of the public
 service," they said, "are in extreme distress; the pay
 of the troops is in arrear, and the defenders of the
 country given up to the horrors of nakedness. Their
 courage is enervated by their grievous wants, and
 their disgust occasions desertion. The hospitals are
 without furniture, fire, or drugs; and the charitable
 institutions, similarly unprovided, repel the approach
 of that indigence and infirmity which they ought to
 solace. The state creditors and contractors, who
 contributed to supply the wants of the armies, can
 only obtain, by their utmost exertions, small parcels
 of the sums which were due to them; and the example
 of their distress keeps back others who could perform
 the same services with more exactness and smaller
 profit. The high roads are broken up, and com-
 munication interrupted; the salaries of the public
 functionaries are unpaid, and throughout the republic
 we see judges and administrators reduced to the
 horrible

horrible alternative of dragging on a miserable existence, or disgracefully selling themselves to every intrigue. Malevolence is universally busy; in many places assassination is reduced to a system, and the police, without activity or force, become destitute of pecuniary means, is unable to terminate disorders.”

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As a remedy for these inconveniences, the directory proposed, first, a compulsory advance in money, or bills of exchange payable in money, from all purchasers of national domains; a project which only increased their embarrassments, by giving reason to expect a new circulation of paper with no better guaranty than the credit of individuals. The minister of finance was next authorized to convoke an assembly of merchants from all the considerable trading towns of the republic to meet at Paris. Some attended, others refused to obey the summons, but all concurred in rejecting four several plans which were offered for the establishment of a national bank, though enforced by all the persuasions which power and eloquence could lend to the ministers Benezech and Ramel. The merchants answered by a plain enumeration of facts: “All government paper,” they said, “has been discredited; and every scheme for giving circulation to such a symbol in France has been disgraced by an unprincipled seizure of the property which was to realize its value. The effects of anarchy weigh down the spirit of commerce; we trade only on the ruins of our former wealth, capital is spent or buried,

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1796. buried, manufactures are shut up, correspondence is annihilated, a continual fluctuation in government checks the spirit of enterprize, and the best combined speculations fail, because between the period of projecting and that of perfecting them, a total change takes place in the laws relating to their operation." The merchants were suffered to depart from Paris.

While thus the directory failed in all their attempts to restore public credit, they were more successful in alarming the people with reports of a royalist conspiracy, and they contrived to obtain such proofs as led to the conviction of the individuals accused. A few rash men, thinking the re-establishment of the ancient government could be effected by a coup-d-main, attempted to gain over to their interest Malo,

1797. who commanded the twenty-first regiment of 30th Jan. dragoons; but he, having apprised Carnot of the affair, and appointed an interview with the principal conspirators, caused other persons to be secreted, who overheard the whole conversation, and, at a proper moment, an armed band rushed in, and took them all into custody. The names of the parties arrested appeared, by the civic cards with which they were provided, to be Brothier, Dunan, and Berthelot de la Villeheurnois; another person named Poly was also taken at his house, for attempting to seduce Ramel, commander of the legislative body-guard.

5th Feb. The particulars of their incoherent plan were laid before the councils, together with a proposition

position from the directory, that, as part of their crime consisted in levying troops, they should be tried by a military commission. Pastoret reasoned, with equal eloquence and justice, against this iniquitous quibble, which substituted an incident arising out of the meditated crime, for a main crime, while the law expressly provided that no offence should be deemed military, unless committed by an individual forming part of the army; but his arguments were vain, and the trial of the prisoners, according to the forms recommended by the directors, was decreed.

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The proceeding of the military commissioners was conformable to the injustice of their establishment; the culprits at first objected to the jurisdiction, but their plea was overruled by a letter from the minister of justice, who, in the true style of a founder of the revolutionary tribunal, treated their objections with sarcastic mockery, and exhorted the members of the commission to firmness and dispatch. The culprits refused to answer interrogatories before such a court, and petitioned the council of five hundred for a respite till their appeal to the tribunal of annulments should be decided. Their request was referred to a committee, whose report occasioned animated debates which lasted several days: the tribunal seemed disposed to maintain the cause of the appellants, when their proceedings were stopped by an arbitrary mandate of the directory. The prisoners were again brought before the illegal commission, and acknowledged

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acknowledged their adherence to the royal cause, but proved their abhorrence of bloodshed, and the pains they had taken to avoid such extremities : the pleadings were continued during many days, and, at length, the committee pronounced the four principal prisoners above mentioned guilty of raising troops, but acquitted eighteen others who had been implicated in the same crime. Sentence of death was pronounced on them, but, in pursuance of a law, commuted as follows ; Brothier and Dunan (whose real name was Duverne de Presse) to ten years' solitary imprisonment ; Lavilleheurnois was condemned to one, and Poly to five, years' similar seclusion. The directory, however, dissatisfied with this decision of a court illegally formed by themselves, reserved the prisoners for a new trial before another tribunal, alleging that the military commission could only proceed on the charge of levying soldiers, but the conspiracy was yet to be decided on.

Such violences in a government neither vigorous nor popular, could not fail of producing strong efforts of opposition ; but before a narrative of these can be given, it is necessary to recite the progress of the campaign.

19th Feb. Peace having been concluded between the pope and the French government, Buonaparte, in conformity to the instructions of the directory, prepared to invade Germany, and sent back upon the Po, either in carriages or by forced marches, all

all his troops from the states of the church, except five thousand men, left in Romagna, under generals Victor and Rusca. The violence and extortion of these generals, and their activity in spreading revolutionary principles, excited insurrections in the march of Ancona, the duchy of Urbino, Romagna, and the surrounding countries, some of which were directed against French oppression, and some against the papal government. His holiness had not the power of suppressing these commotions; but the French, making no distinction between those who submitted to, and those who resisted, their yoke, gave up the towns of Macerata, Jesi, Ricanata, Porto di Fermo, and Grotto di Mare, to pillage, and shot a great number of their inhabitants. They also, in defiance of public right and decency, again took possession of Leghorn, and under pretence of fearing insurrections, to which their tyranny and extortion gave continual provocation, stationed troops in Genoa, the territory of Modena, and Lombardy.

The army of Buonaparte was augmented by a detachment from the Rhine under Bernadotte, and by Polish and Italian volunteers, to ninety thousand effective men. The possession of Mantua and the castle of Milan, the democratic inclinations manifested by part of the Venetian states, and a treaty recently concluded with the king of Sardinia, who from an opponent had become an ally of the French republic, left their army free to pursue whatever operations its commander

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commander might dictate. The Austrian troops did not exceed thirty-eight thousand, though some additional force was expected to accrue from the levies making throughout the Imperial dominions; but raw recruits could not be supposed capable of opposing with success the victorious veterans of the French army, nor could the small force remaining from the wreck of five armies, successively formed and dissipated in the plains of Italy and the mountains of the Tyrol, aided by a few battalions from the Upper Rhine, present a sufficient front to encounter the republicans. This residue of a force which had exhausted the population of the hereditary states, had not the requisite strength, consistence, spirit, or system: not one of the regiments was complete, some, indeed, had no more than a few companies; the flower of the cavalry had been lost in Mantua; the battalions reckoned more recruits than able soldiers; those had never seen service; these had always been beaten; the courage of the former was not animated by the hope of victory, that of the latter was totally depressed by continual misfortunes; and what was still more distressing, the generals and the officers shared the despondency of the privates, and added complaints and cavils, the too common consequence of bad fortune.

The only source of hope which the Austrian army could entertain, was the presence of the archduke Charles, who, immediately after the surrender of Kehl,

Kehl *, hastened to attempt the desperate task of animating a defeated and enfeebled band. The loss of Mantua, and other circumstances, had rendered all projects of an offensive war hopeless; and the only practicable plan of campaign seemed to be that of shutting the entrance of Germany against the French, by maintaining the position already occupied. The French having exhausted the countries they had overrun, the directory looked to new conquests as the means of new contributions; they wished to consolidate the Cisalpine, and create new republics, to obtain among the people a permanent and beneficial influence, and for that purpose to carry the war into Germany. Buonaparte embraced all the sentiments of the directory, and superadded an unbounded thirst of conquest, together with that spirit of personal rivalry which the fair character, military talents, and glowing patriotism, of the archduke, could not fail to

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* It is observed, and not without appearance of justice, that the archduke committed a great military error by persevering in the reduction of Kehl. "The obstinacy," says Carnot, "with which I persisted in defending Kehl, arose, in fact, from my wish to detain prince Charles on the banks of the Rhine, by working upon his self-love, and thus to prevent him from marching into Italy. Prince Charles committed that grand error; and, in lieu of abandoning Kehl (where nothing could be done during the winter on account of the snows that prevented the French from penetrating again into Suabia), and flying to relieve Mantua, he persisted in his determination to take this fort, and was too late to relieve that city." See Carnot's answer to Bailleul, p. 59, English translation.

inspire

CHAP. inspire in the breast of a man whom fortune and
 XXII. courage alone had elevated into notice, while honour,
 1797. good faith, and humanity, disfavoured almost all his
 actions. The archduke was generally complimented
 as the Camillus, while Buonaparte was described as
 the Attila of the age.

The Imperial troops were cantoned in the Trentino, the Tyrol, the country of Feltre, and the Trevisano: their right was supported by the mountains of Bormio, and the country of the Grisons; their centre occupying the space between the Adige and the Piave, and guarding with their left, the left bank of that river, from Feltre to the sea; their line passing by Cles, Salurn, Cavalese, Predazzo, Prioniere, Feltre, and following the course of the Piave. In February. the beginning of February the archduke caused the main body to retire behind the Tagliamento, and take cantonments in the Friuly and in Carinthia, leaving three corps to guard the line; one under Lyptay of eleven thousand, another of about seven thousand commanded by Lusignan, and a third under Hohenzollern of about five thousand men. The line of the French was in front of the Austrians, extending from the mountains of Bormio to the sea, and divided into three principal corps; the first of twenty thousand men commanded by Joubert, the centre by Massena, and the third by Buonaparte, amounting together to sixty thousand strong.

The position of the armies rendered it necessary for

for the French, in prosecution of their plan,
to attack all the Austrian points, and to

10th March.

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succeed in all their attacks. Buonaparte, considering promptitude no less necessary than vigour, commenced the campaign, having animated his soldiers by a bombastic proclamation, recapitulating all the romances he had previously written to the directory, vaunting all his former atrocities, and inviting his people to revolutionise the hereditary states of the emperor. His first object was to separate the armies of the Tyrol and Friuly; for which purpose he directed his centre, and part of the right wing, against the main body of the Imperialists, which defended the counties of Feltre and Belluna. On the approach of Massena towards Feltre, the advanced posts of the Austrians fell back from Cordevola on Belluna, while generals Serrurier and Guyeux pushed, with little opposition, to Conegliano, and dislodged the Austrians from Sacile. Massena continued his march to Belluna, which was evacuated by Lufignan, who posted himself behind the town to cover the valley of Cadore. With less than two thousand men, he resolutely defended himself against ten thousand, and maintained his post for thirteen hours; when he was surrounded, and having lost the greatest part of his troops, exhausted his ammunition, and failed in an attempt to force his way with the bayonet, compelled to surrender*.

13th.

Buonaparte,

* He was sent prisoner to Paris, where, in consequence of groundless accusations by Buonaparte, he was treated with equal

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Buonaparte, having thus gained possession of Belluna, and the country between the Lavis and the Piave, marched with three divisions of his army to the Tagliamento, which he crossed without loss, though not without opposition. The infantry was vigorously attacked by the Austrian cavalry; but on the advance of the French cavalry, greatly superior, the archduke retreated, and being joined by the troops from Friuly, continued retiring for several days till he reached Vico, behind the Venetian fortress of Palma Nuova. Although the archduke sacrificed some territory by these retrograde movements, still he was augmenting his forces, and diminishing those of his opponents; as the French army advanced their resources became difficult and precarious, while those of the Austrians were more easy and secure. On the approach of the French, the archduke evacuated Palma Nuova, and retired to Goritia, while Serrurier and Bernadotte endeavoured to take Gradiska by storm; but being repulsed with great loss, Bernadotte threatened to put the whole garrison to the sword, unless the commanding officer capitulated in ten minutes: the menace produced the desired effect, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The right of the French having forded the Isonzo, near Cossigliano, while

harshness and confined with sir Sydney Smith. The charges of against him were disproved before two commissions, one instituted in France, the other in Italy.

their

their left, under Massena, advanced to Ponteba, the archduke fell back to Vippach. CHAP.
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While Buonaparte thus finished the conquest of Friuly, and drove the Imperialists into the hereditary states, Joubert, whom he left in the country of Trent and in the Tyrol, began to assist in the plan of invasion. The French troops which occupied the banks of the Adige as far as Lavis, ^{20th.} attacked the Austrians under generals Kerpen and Loudon, who, being far inferior in number, were defeated with great loss. While retreating along the right bank of the Adige, Loudon ^{22d.} was again attacked near Tramen, and, although he bravely disputed the ground, again defeated with the loss of two or three hundred prisoners, and prevented from joining Kerpen and the main body of the army at Botzen. Kerpen, finding that Joubert was gaining his flanks, retired from Botzen to Clauzen, ^{24th.} whence, after a long and obstinate encounter, he was obliged to retreat beyond Brixen, and subsequently to take a position near Sterzingen, the last and strongest in the Tyrol on the side of Italy.

The army of the archduke being entirely separated from that of Kerpen, Buonaparte rapidly advanced into the hereditary states, penetrating into Germany by a road which had not been trod by the French since the days of Charlemagne. The Austrians having evacuated Goritia after the republicans had passed the Isonzo, Buonaparte marched to that town, while

CHAP. his right proceeded towards Trieste ; and on his left
 XXII. } generals Guyeux and Massena advanced, the one from
 1797. } Cividale to Chiavoretto, and the other to Austrian
 Ponteba, otherwise called Pontaffel. Massena was
 ordered to gain the two passes leading from Friuly
 into Carinthia across the Alps, to turn the right of
 the archduke, and prevent his receiving reinforce-
 ments from the Rhine ; and even to advance before
 him on the road leading from Clagenfurt to Vienna.
 The Austrian prince, however, anticipating this
 design, formed the bold plan of turning the left of the
 French, and attacking them in the flank. He ac-
 cordingly united his left and centre, and went post to
 Tarvis and Villach, towards which place he ordered a
 column of his centre to hasten by forced marches,
 and to be joined by several battalions and squadrons
 from the Rhine. The success of this bold and
 judicious plan was frustrated by the precipitation or
 treachery of general Ocskay, who, abandoning the
 defile of Pontaffel, enabled the French to possess
 themselves of Tarvis, which commanded the road by
 which two columns under generals Gontreuil and
 Bayalich, the artillery of reserve and baggage, were
 expected to arrive. In order to re-open this im-
 portant communication, the archduke directed Gon-
 treuil and Bayalich to attack the French at Tarvis.
 Gontreuil drove them from the village of Safnitz,
 23d. which gave time for the artillery of reserve to
 arrive ; but was afterwards obliged to abandon
 this

this position, after having defended himself during the greatest part of the day with less than three thousand men against upwards of ten thousand: it is even thought that he would have maintained his post, but Massena received reinforcements, while those expected under Bayalich and Ocskay did not appear. The archduke arrived during the conflict, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers, animating the soldiers by his example; count Wratislaw was wounded, as was Gontreuil himself*. In consequence of Ocskey's having abandoned the defile of Pontaffel, the column which was proceeding to join Gontreuil got entangled in the mountains between the divisions of Massena and Guyeux, who had already forced the post of the Austrian Chiufa, or Pletz, and were nearly all made prisoners.

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Having thus failed in preventing the French from penetrating into the hereditary states, prince Charles thought of making them repent the invasion; but the great responsibility to which he was subjected rendered the utmost caution necessary. An ancient and mighty monarchy, with his own brother at its head; all the power and glory which, for nearly four centuries, had

* This meritorious and unfortunate officer retired to Vienna to be cured of his wounds; but speaking too strong truths respecting the conduct of other persons who had not discharged their duty with the same zeal and fidelity as himself, he raised such an host of enemies, that he sunk under the distress in which they involved him, and terminated his days by suicide.

marked

CHAP. marked his illustrious house; might be annihilated by
 XXII. one error, or even one misfortune. He could not
 1797. therefore risk an engagement till he had such advantages, both in numbers and position, as would render success nearly certain, and leave his operations as little exposed as possible to the contingencies of ordinary warfare. The cabinet of Vienna had not been remiss in providing for this emergency; detachments, comprising all the force which could be spared from the Rhine, had joined the archduke, or were judiciously posted in the archbishopric of Saltzburg, for the purpose of reinforcing Kerpen in the Tyrol, or advancing upon Buonaparte's left. The warlike people of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, took up arms at the call of the emperor; they were formed into regiments, and determined to defend to the last extremity the cause of their sovereign and religion. The inhabitants of Vienna also offered their services to defend the town, the fortifications of which were repairing; troops were employed in entrenching the mountains which separate Austria from Styria; a camp was formed in front of the capital at Neustadt, which was occupied by a reserve of fifty thousand men, principally Hungarians, and commanded a defile through which passes the road to Vienna; and all the troops which could be spared from the garrisons and frontiers were marching to join the archduke.

The Austrian prince divided his army into three
 corps,

corps, one of which, under general Seckendorf, occupied the road to Laybach, and defended Carniola and the valley of the Save; the centre, commanded by Mercantin, protected the valley of the Drave and Clagenfurth; and the third, under the prince de Reufs and general Kaim, was to defend Styria, and check the progress of the left wing of the French upon the road to St. Veit, and in the valley of the Muehr. In the mean time part of Buonaparte's right wing seized Trieste, his centre advanced upon the Save, and his left to Villach upon the Drave, where it was reinforced by the divisions under Guyeux and Serrurier. This corps, consisting of thirty thousand men led by Massena, after obtaining a slight advantage over the Austrian rear-guard, took possession of Clagenfurth; while general Seckendorf evacuated Laybach, which was occupied by Bernadotte.

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Although Buonaparte's success seemed to render his further progress easy, yet he foresaw the difficulties and dangers which must attend his army if he still advanced into the hereditary states. Till this period it had been possible for him to draw the greatest part of the stores necessary for his army out of the depots and magazines he had formed in the states of Venice; his communications had not yet required strong detachments, his army had not been essentially diminished by the battles it had fought, and the troops opposed to him were not yet capable of making an effective resistance. But in a few marches more, his situation

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1797. situation would become very different; his advancing would render the communication with Italy precarious, and the arrival of provisions would become more and more slow and uncertain. To secure this service and that of the hospitals, he must leave a certain number of men behind. It would be hardly possible to form magazines in a country by no means fertile, the productions of which had been already consumed and carried off by the Austrians. The French would be entangled in the midst of a difficult and mountainous country, inhabited by a hardy race, not less accustomed to loyalty towards their sovereign than to the profession of arms. At every step the relative proportion of strength and resources would change in a twofold ratio in favour of the Austrians. Already was Buonaparte's left threatened by a body of fifteen thousand men, posted in the archbishopric of Saltzburg, while the inhabitants of the Tyrol were rising *en masse*. Three French divisions had failed in an attempt to penetrate beyond Brixen; and should reinforcements enable generals Kerpen and Loudon to drive back these divisions as far as the Mantuan and the Veronese, the remoteness of the French army might encourage the Venetian people and government to make common cause with the Tyrolians; and thus, while the French army was advancing in Carinthia and Styria, its communication with Mantua might be cut off, and all the passes by which it had penetrated into Germany closed on its rear.

These

These considerations were not new nor unforeseen ; but the expedition and the early opening of the campaign seem to have been produced by the hope of terrifying the cabinet of Vienna into the acceptance of such terms of peace as the directory might dictate. A party in that cabinet had, during the whole war, clamoured for peace, and clogged the more wise and decisive measures of their opponents ; and this cabal, in the intrigues of which women bore a considerable share, was, unconsciously perhaps, serving the views of the directory, and relied on by them as their most effectual allies. Before the opening of the campaign, attempts had been made to open a negotiation for such a peace as would enable France to pursue new schemes of revolution and pillage, but were frustrated by the spirit and firmness of the emperor. On his arrival at Clagenfurth, Buonaparte perceived that the moment was come when imminent danger must, if ever, appal the court of Vienna, and oblige them to yield to terms ; and having learnt, by secret intercourse, that the pacific cabal was gaining ground, he dispatched a letter to the archduke, couched in terms of hypocrisy as to his own sentiments* and insult as

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* As a specimen of Buonaparte's talents in this style, the following paragraph is extracted from his letter. " As for me, general, *if the overture which I have the honour to make to you can save the life of a single man, I shall pride myself more upon the civic crown that my conscience will tell me I thus shall have deserved, than upon the melancholy glory which arises from military success!*"

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to the conduct of Great Britain, containing pacific overtures. The Austrian prince having declined negotiating because he had no power from the emperor for that purpose, Buonaparte, still pursuing the project of encouraging the cabal who were de-

1st April. sired of peace, and abating the ardour of the people in defence of their sovereign, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Carinthia, inviting them to amity, promising to protect their religion and property, and calumniating the English; but widely differing from the style of his address to his own troops at the beginning of the campaign, when he promised to revolutionise the hereditary states.

Having issued this paper, Buonaparte marched from Clagenfurth to St. Veit, resolving, if possible, to attack the archduke while yet inferior to him in numbers, and prevent the junction of a body of troops

30th March. from Suabia. The Imperial general, having concentrated his right and centre, marched

1st April. to Freifach, but abandoned it on the approach of the French though his rear guard defended it with great bravery, and on the

2d. ensuing day, with equal valour and more success, the defile leading from Freifach to

Neumarkt, which was ineffectually assailed by Massena. The archduke maintained these contests chiefly to gain time for general Spork to join him with reinforcements from Saltzburg; and having secured the desired communication, retired in the night to Hund-

markt

markt, still pursued by Buonaparte, who, vainly hoping to bring on a general engagement, fought several partial skirmishes, in which both armies were equal sufferers; while the archduke retired successively to Judenburg, Knittfeld, and Vorderernberg. Buonaparte, occupying all the places abandoned by the Imperialists, became master of Carinthia, and entered into Styria, while his right wing advanced through Carniola upon the two banks of the Save, covered by a small detachment which kept pace with it in Istria.

On Buonaparte's arrival at Judenburg, he was met by generals Bellegarde and Meerfeldt, who had full powers to treat for a suspension of arms, or even for a peace; and, after a conference and some official correspondence, an armistice was concluded for six days, by which the French were put in possession of a considerable tract of ground; their centre extending to Bruck, their right wing between Fiume and Trieste, and their left to Lientz.

As the terms of this truce included the armies of the Tyrol, it becomes necessary to relate their operations during the retreat of the archduke. General Kerpen still retained the strong post of Sterzingen, while Loudon had retired to Meran; but although the Austrians possessed some local advantages, the inferiority of their forces rendered the occupation of these important posts extremely precarious. These difficulties were, however, removed by the courage and zeal of the Tyroleans; twenty thousand of whom, at

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CHAP. at the instigation of count Lehrbach, rose *en masse*,
 XXII. and ranged themselves under the standards of Loudon
 1797. and Kerper*. Joubert had united his forces between
 Brixen and Botzen to maintain a communication with
 Buonaparte, and secure himself from the attack of the
 Austrians stationed in the archbishopric of Saltzburg,
 in which case his retreat would have been endangered
 by Loudon's corps and the Tyrolean volunteers.

While these considerations detained the French at
 Brixen and upon the Adige, general Loudon,
 2d April. at the head of fifteen thousand men, chiefly
 armed peasants, attacked their outposts between
 Meran and Botzen, and, having gained some
 3d. ground, renewed the assault on the ensuing
 day, and compelled them to evacuate Botzen.
 Having, by this success, inspired the Tyroleans with
 confidence, Loudon advanced part of his
 5th. troops to Deutchenoffen and Branzol, and,
 bringing the remainder on the rear of the French,
 drove them from Clausen and Steben, while Kerpen
 expelled them from Brixen, with considerable loss
 both of men and magazines. Having retreated along
 the valleys of the Adige and Puster to Lientz, the
 French were joined by a corps of cavalry sent by
 Buonaparte to guard the valley of the Drave, and to
 establish a communication between the armies of the

* Their enthusiasm was so great, that old men, and even women
 and children, demanded arms.

Tyrol and Carinthia. Kerpen, however, fixed his head-quarters at Prunecken, and pushed his advanced posts as far as Lientz; while Joubert took positions calculated to join his corps with the main body.

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While the French were thus driven from the German Tyrol, general Loudon routed another division near Lavis, driving them successively upon Trente, Roveredo, Torbola, and Riva, on the lake of Garda, and compelling them to seek safety in the citadel of Verona.

This refuge was necessary, not merely to shelter the French from the pursuit of Loudon, and the rage of the Tyroleans; they had equal dangers to apprehend from the inhabitants of the Veronese, who were exasperated by some recent transactions. The plunder and subjection of the various states of Italy, the abasement of the king of Sardinia and the grand-duke of Tuscany, the extortion practised on the pope, and the perfidious intrigues maintained in Naples for the purpose of exciting a revolution, were parts of the same project, tending at once to gratify the rage for plunder and disorganisation which characterised the French government, and force the emperor to a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace. But the measure of ill faith was not full while Venice yet retained her ancient government—republican, but not democratic; ancient, wise, and sanctioned by experience; and rendering the people happy, rich, and faithful.

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faithful. In vain had this government shunned all appearance of partiality towards the Austrians; in vain had it submitted to the extortion of the French, by supplying loans to the amount of thirty millions of livres (1,312,500*l.*) without a hope of their being repaid, and lavished large sums in bribes to obtain the good-will of Buonaparte, Salicetti the commissioner, and the greater part of the generals; the directory saw in Venice a country which might be converted into a democracy and united to the Cisalpine republic, or afford means of concluding a peace by being offered to the emperor as a compensation for the Low-countries and the Milanese; and they resolved, as they could not find in the conduct of the senate a pretext for open hostility, to gain the country by initiating the inhabitants in the arts of revolution. They began by disseminating principles of democracy, exciting a contempt of authority, screening insurgents from punishment, and thus forming in every class parties of malcontents and of revolutionary
13th March. traitors. In consequence of these measures, the pretended patriots of Bergamo assumed the tri-coloured cockade, obliged the inhabitants to follow their example, disarmed and dismissed the troops, deposed the magistracy and substituted a municipality, and put themselves under the protection of France. The other inhabitants of the Bergamese, as well as those of the Brescian and part of the Veronese, were obliged to follow this example; and thus the republic
of

of Venice was in an instant deprived of its most valuable possessions on Terra Firma. The French had likewise gained over to their party some indigent members of privileged families, and a small number of citizens who shewed a design of annihilating the aristocracy and changing the constitution of the state. The senate protested against the independence of the revolted provinces, and endeavoured to maintain peace in the capital, and preserve the established government: a motion made in the legislature to change it for a mixture of aristocracy and democracy was rejected by a majority of three hundred and ninety-one against five. The greater part of the subjects of Terra Firma also preferred the ancient system to the new order of things, which they had been induced to adopt through fear of the French, and manifested their preference by some bloody scenes which occurred towards the end of March in several parts, particularly at Brescia, between the patriots and the faithful inhabitants, supported by the Venetian troops.

Such was the situation of these states when Loudon drove back the French into that territory. The Venetians, not expecting the approach of peace, but hoping that the Austrian general would make further progress, took up arms, and murdered the patriots and some of the French. Such were the facts which were afterwards made use of as a pretext for the conquest of Venice, and the annihilation of that republic; and such the situation of

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affairs,

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affairs, when a preliminary treaty was signed between the emperor and the French republic, at the town of Leoben.

Before the consequences of this treaty can be detailed, it is necessary to recite the progress of the campaign on the Rhine. After the capture of fort Kehl and Huningen, the French were driven from the right bank of the river, which again separated the armies of the Austrians and Moreau. The severity of the season, and the great detachments sent by both parties into Italy, prevented the commencement of the campaign till a late period : the void in the French army was filled up by troops from Holland, the Low-countries, and La Vendée, who had most of them served during the war ; the Austrians also received a reinforcement of recruits or young soldiers from Bohemia and Upper Austria, but greatly inferior both in numbers and quality to those it had sent away. The Austrian army consisted of a hundred thousand men, bordering the Rhine from Basle to the Sieg, including the garrisons of Philipsburg, Manheim, Mentz, and Ehrenbreitstein, the fort of the Rhine before Manheim, and some posts on the Seltz and Nahe in front of Mentz. Lieutenant-general Latour, commanding on the Upper Rhine, was opposed by Moreau ; and lieutenant-general Werneck, on the Lower, by Hoche, who had assumed the command instead of Beurnonville.

The French generals had collectively under their orders

orders about a hundred and fifty thousand men, who lined the banks of the Rhine, and guarded the fortresses from Huningen to Landau; garrisoned the strong holds of the Sare and Moselle, occupied a part of the Palatinate, the whole duchy of Deux Ponts, and nearly all the Hundsrück: they had also posts upon the Nahe, and from the mouth of that river edged the left bank of the Rhine as far as Cologne, and the right bank from that town to Duffeldorf. This position was much better than that of the Austrians either for attack or defence, which, with the superiority of their numbers, gave the French a great advantage over their opponents.

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The directory had witnessed with regret the expulsion of their armies from Germany, and anxiously awaited the conquest of the hereditary dominions, by which they hoped to deprive the emperor of part of his dignity and revenues, to enrich themselves at the expence of the petty princes, and extort from that vast and rich country those supplies for the support of their army which could not be afforded them at home. Anxious to realise these hopes, they ordered Hoche and Moreau to commence offensive operations as soon as possible.

Hoche crossed the Rhine at Neuwied, where he had a tête de pont, with his advanced guard, and drew up on the plain in front, and within reach of the cannon of the Austrians, who were posted between the villages of Hetterisdorf and

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CHAP. Bendorf. They were strongly entrenched, and de-
 XXII. fended by good redoubts, but had only six thousand
 1797. men to oppose thirty-five thousand; Werneck being
 in the mountains between Altenkirchen and Hachen-
 burg with the main body of the army. General Kray,
 consulting his courage rather than his force, com-
 menced the combat by a brisk cannonade *, which
 was vigorously returned by the flying artillery of the
 French, who, as soon as their whole body had passed the
 river, resolutely assailed the intrenchments, and, after
 an obstinate resistance, forced the two villages, when
 their cavalry completed the victory. Hoche pursued
 the Austrians, some to Montabauer and some to
 Dierdorf; where, having obtained reinforcements, they
 made a stand, but were driven from both. Mean-
 while Hoche's left, consisting of twenty-five thousand
 men, under Championnet, marched in two divisions
 upon Ucherath and Altenkirchen. The Austrian
 corps, though too small to make effectual resistance,
 warmly disputed the ground, but were compelled to
 abandon it.

These successes, and the vast superiority of numbers
 on the side of the French, precluded all hopes that

* Kray, apprised of the armistice concluded at Judenburg, the
 7th of April, requested a similar suspension of hostilities, to save the
 effusion of blood; but Hoche, less correctly informed, or probably
 less humanely disposed, rejected the proposal, unless the fortrefs of
 Ehrenbreitstein and the whole course of the Lahn were put in his
 possession: these extravagant terms were of course refused.

Werneck

Werneck could maintain his position in front of the Lahn, or even prevent them from passing it:

A part of his left wing was obliged to retire beyond that river, while the centre and right endeavoured to stop the progress of the French between the Sieg and the Upper Lahn; but they, rapidly advancing on all sides, passed the river at Limburg, pushed forward their advanced posts; and invested the fortrefs of Ehrenbreitstein. On the

same day their right wing and part of the centre crossed at Weilburg and Nassau; while the Austrian troops retired towards Mentz, Koenigstein, and Frankfort. General Werneck, having united the greatest part of his force, had taken a strong position at Kleinnister; but being too weak to hazard a battle, retired to Westlaer and Giessen, and after some skirmishes, in which his rear-guard was

engaged, repassed the Nidda for the protection of Frankfort. During the retreat, the French cavalry pursued two squadrons of Austrian hussars so closely, that they had nearly entered the town of Frankfort with them; but fifty men firing most opportunely from the ramparts, disconcerted them, and gave time for raising the drawbridge. When the vanguard of the French army appeared, Hoche was informed that a messenger from Buonaparte was in the town, with dispatches announcing the signature of the preliminaries of peace, which suddenly, and to the great regret of the French, terminated hostilities. Hoche,

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enraged at the loss of plunder, insisted that, as his troops had appeared before Frankfort, that town should be given up, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to abandon his ridiculous claim.

Moreau was not less successful, although he had more difficulties to encounter. On quitting
19th. his cantonments, he marched towards the Rhine; he had no bridge, and only one set of pontoons, and therefore attempted to pass the river by surprise near Strasburg, but failing in this effort, began to force the passage with fifteen thousand men, divided into three bodies, under generals Jordis, d'Avouft, and Duhem. They were vigorously resisted; but when, by perseverance, they had passed over a sufficient force, they attacked, and, after one repulse, made themselves masters of the village of Diersheim, and continually augmented their numbers, when the Austrians attacked the village of Diersheim, and had almost driven them from it: the republicans, however, seeing that the hope of victory or retreat depended on their retaining this position, brought up all their force, and a most obstinate and bloody battle ensued. Victory was for some time on the side of the Austrians; till the French, by means of reinforcements from the opposite bank, acquired a great superiority of numbers, and obtained possession of the village, as well as that of Hanau. Night stopped the effusion of blood; and in that interval the French established a bridge of boats, brought over artillery, ammunitiion,

ammunition, and fresh troops, and before morning were sufficiently strong to defy their antagonists.

The Austrians, having been reinforced during the same period to eighteen thousand men, commenced a terrible cannonade on Diersheim and Hanau, dismounted the batteries, and made a vigorous attack, but were repulsed by the superior numbers which the French derived from continual reinforcements: the day terminated with a tremendous combat between the cavalry, in which the Austrians were defeated. Moreau, having been joined by the remainder of his army from the opposite bank, divided it into three columns; his centre marched towards the villages of Lintz and Hobin, his right towards the Kintzing, and his left to the Renchen, to which places the Austrians had retired, who, fatigued and weakened as they were, could not resist fresh and numerous troops. The French, therefore, easily obtained possession of the causeway which leads from Kehl to Stolhoffen, and overran the plain, where their cavalry completed the defeat of the Austrians, and put them entirely to the rout, taking four thousand prisoners, besides part of their artillery.

On the same day, the French, without firing a shot, obtained possession of fort Kehl, which, but a few months before, had maintained so gallant a defence, and which the Austrians purchased at the expence of so much blood and treasure. The fortifications being imperfectly repaired, the commander dreaded the

CHAP. the consequences of an assault, and delivered up the
XXII. fort and garrison. The French advanced in all
1797. directions, and had already obtained possession of
Stolhofen, Freydenstadt, Haslech, and Ettenheim,
when their progress was stopped by intelligence of the
preliminaries signed at Leoben.

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State of the Executive Directory—Approach of Elections—Law against Emigrants—Electors obliged to promise Hatred of Royalty and Anarchy—Mode of drawing Lots for vacating a Seat in the Directory—Elections to the Councils—Pichegru President of the Five Hundred—Barthelemy chosen Member of the Directory—View of Affairs at the Time of signing the Treaty of Leoben—Dissatisfaction of the contracting Parties—Project of Buonaparte for revolutionising and conquering Venice—He declares War against that Republic—Seizes the Territory—Consternation of the Senators—who abdicate their Rights of Government—Indignation of the People—Arrival of the French—their Cruelty—and insatiable Rapacity—The French excite an Insurrection at Genoa—Spirited Resistance of the People—Approach of the French Army—Dastardly Resignation of Government—Genoa changed into the Ligurian Republic—and plundered—Lucca undergoes a similar Fate—Revolutionary Preparations in other Parts of Italy—suspended—Effects of these Transactions in France—Formation of Opposition—Debates on the Colonies—on Finance—on Religious Worship—Sect of Theophilanthropists—Debates on Emigrants from the Low-Countries—The State of Lyons—

Lyons—Several merciful Laws rejected by the Council of Ancients—Cruelty of the Directory towards some shipwrecked Emigrants—Debates on the Conduct of Government towards neutral Nations—Division of the Directory—State of Parties—Publication against the Council of Five Hundred—Encouraged by the Directory—Troops approach Paris—Debates on that Subject—Hoche collects an Army at Rheims to act against the Legislature—Proceedings and Addresses of the Army of Italy—Message of the Directory—Reports on it in both Councils—Lareveilliere succeeds Carnot as President of the Directory—His Conduct—Feebleness of Opposition—Preparations of the Directory—Their Sitting on the 3d of September—Carnot escapes—Barthelemy is arrested—The Halls of the Legislature surrounded with Troops—Several Members arrested—Conduct of Ramel—He is arrested—Meeting of the Two Councils at the Odeon and the Medical College—Proclamations—Other Persons arrested—Report of Boulay de la Meurthe—Numerous Deportations decreed—New Laws—Savage Triumph of the Directory—Two new Members appointed.

1797. **I**N the midst of these external successes, the interior of France, though not so forcibly convulsed, was little less agitated than at the most alarming periods of the revolution. The directory possessed neither the confidence nor the respect of the people; their councils were divided by separate views, and by mutual

mutual distrust and contempt ; while the dread of new revolutions, and the immediate terror of military force, alone appeared to prevent some violent explosion. The directors, fully sensible of the dangers to which they were exposed, saw with alarm the approach of the period when, by the new constitution, the people must meet in primary assemblies, to choose anew a third part of the representatives, and when one of the five should quit his situation by lot.

As a measure of security on this occasion, the directors, by a decree, prohibited all persons inscribed on the list of emigrants from exercising any political rights. This act of tyranny was published, as its contrivers hoped, too late for repeal ; but Dumolard, in denouncing it to the council of five hundred, demonstrated that the directory had transgressed the bounds of their authority ; such, however, was the prejudice against emigrants, that he could only obtain an exception from the general terms of the decree in favour of those whose names had been provisionally erased from the list of proscription. A new effort to prevent the sovereign people from enjoying too great a share of authority was made by the directory in a message to the council of five hundred ; wherein, after speaking mysteriously of conspirators, whose hopes were not yet annihilated, they insinuated the propriety of denying to all who had refused, or should refuse, to take the oath of hatred to royalty, the

25th Feb.

10th.

15th.

the

CHAP. the right of voting ; considering the people, on
 XXIII. that occasion, as public functionaries. The oppo-
 1797. sition party reprobated this attempt to introduce a
 new topic of discord, and denied the sophistical
 assertion, that a man voting for a representative
 was a public functionary ; they agreed, however, that
 each elector should *promise*, but not *swear*, attachment
 to the republic and fidelity to the constitution, and
 engage to defend them, with all his power, against the
 attacks of royalty and anarchy. The council of
 ancients, after a tumultuous discussion, acceded to the
 proposed law.

After several debates on the manner in which lots
 should be drawn to create vacancies in the directory,
 a mode was adopted which was said to give abundant
 means for regulating the decision by contrivance rather
 than chance, and the final event was even announced
 a day before it took place, by Poulitier, a deputy, in a
 newspaper called *L'Ami des Loix*. The five
 19th May. directors being assembled, two vases were
 prepared, with ten hollow balls, five of which being
 opened, a ticket was inclosed in each, numbered from
 one to five, and all these papers having been read by all
 the directors, were again shut up in the balls and
 thrown into one of the vases. Five other tickets
 were then prepared, four of which were inscribed
 "*Membre du directoire RESTANT*;" the other "*Membre
 du directoire SORTANT*:" these were inclosed in the
 remaining five balls, and thrown into the other vase.

Each

Each director then drew from the first vase, in order of seniority, a ball, containing a ticket which was to decide the order in which he should draw from the other vase. Laréveillère drew N^o. 1, Carnot 2, Barras 3, Letourneur 4, and Rewbel 5, and from the other vase, the ticket bearing the word *sortant* was found in the ball produced by Letourneur*. The *procès verbal* of this decision was read in the councils, and recorded with little opposition; and after a speech from the presidents, the sitting closed, and the deputies whose term was expired gave way to their successors.

The elections to vacant seats in the council of five hundred were not satisfactory to government. The minister of police had written a circular letter to the newly-acquired departments, recommending certain members of the old legislature to their choice; but had the mortification to find them uniformly rejected. Committees of nine, formed to decide on the propriety of the returns, agreed on the eligibility of most of the members, but made one exception highly honourable to their integrity. The

* Whether this event was produced by design or accident, it is highly to be deplored, as Letourneur and Carnot were sincerely disposed to make an equitable peace; and if a new director had been appointed, possessing the same sentiments, the majority thus acquired in the directory would have prevented many of the crimes and horrors which marked the administration of the remaining triumvirate.

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department of the Upper Pyrenées having returned as their representative the much-known Bertrand Barrere, it was observed that this ex-member of the convention and committee of public safety, being condemned to deportation, had forfeited the rights of a French citizen, and was consequently ineligible; and the council unanimously declared the election void. Among the new members were generals Jourdan and Pichegru; the latter of whom was elected president*; and his name being signed to two resolutions, the ancients hailed his nomination with expressions of respect for his military talents and virtues. They had also chosen as president, Barbé Marbois.

The council of five hundred proposed a list, from which to select a new member of the directory; and Barthelemy, embassador to the Swiss cantons, was selected by the council of ancients with an unusual majority †. The people of Switzerland shewed their last tokens of affection and respect, by escorting him with military honours to the frontier, where a triumphal arch was erected, inscribed "*To the pacificator of Europe.*" On the road he avoided the honours prepared for him by the people of France; and having reached Paris in a private manner,

* Out of 404 voters, he had 387 in his favour. In the preceding year, the directory offered to depute him embassador to Sweden, as an honourable exile; but he refused. He was returned representative of the department of Jura.

† Out of 218 votes, he had 138.

was installed, received the fraternal embrace from his new colleagues, and expressed, in an animated speech, his earnest wishes for peace; to which Carnot, then president of the directory, made an affectionate reply*.

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From the state of public opinion, and the changes in the government, considerable political concussions arose; but, before the detail of them, it is necessary to advert to some other transactions.

At the period of signing the treaty of Leoben, the apparent preponderance of France over Germany was exaggerated by terror or treachery, and those circumstances which were adduced as motives of despair to the Imperial cabinet ought to have inspired the most sanguine confidence. The brilliant success of Buonaparte's career dazzled the eyes of superficial observers, who, amid the constant narratives of victories, could not perceive that, in a military view, the whole plan of campaign was rash, and must have proved ruinous, had not political transactions which could not be foreseen rescued Buonaparte from his impending fate. His great error was that of commencing hostilities at so early a period, that the armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine could not cooperate; thus, while he was daily advancing, and leaving a hostile country behind, entangling his army amid defiles and mountains, and rendering retreat

* Histories; and Histoire du Directoire Executif.

impracticable,

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impracticable, the archduke could be reinforced not only from the loyal countries in his immediate power, but even from the armies of the Rhine, which, till the day of signing the preliminary treaty, had never been put in motion. Buonaparte's conduct is attributed to an excessive love of glory, and an eagerness to stand alone the competitor of the Austrian prince, and render his defeat a new title to fame; but the archduke was not doomed so to resign his laurels: with the insignificant force entrusted to his command, and with restricted authority, ill seconded by ministers and subaltern officers, he had made on all points of an immense line an obstinate resistance; disputed the ground step by step, drawn his rash enemy into defiles, separated him from his magazines, harassed him by his boldness, augmented his own force, and diminished that of Buonaparte; and thus, while he opposed him formidably in front, surrounded and turned his flanks, threatened his rear, and left him no resource but a retreat which seemed almost impossible. Such was the situation of the two armies when the cabinet of Vienna acceded to the treaty of Leoben, and took from this illustrious prince the opportunity of raising his own glory on the ruin of the invader, and becoming a second time the saviour of Germany.

From the impression made by a weak or treacherous junto, the treaty of Leoben was received in Germany with no less joy than in France; though on a moderate calculation

calculation it could not escape notice, that while the subjects of the empire must expect a great diminution of their political importance, and consequently their future safety, the republicans must perceive, in the concessions of the emperor, not only a guaranty of those claims, the maintenance of which rested only on force, but an irremediable dissolution of that political confederacy which, in 1792, had occasioned such extensive and well-founded alarm. The particulars of this treaty were not published; though, from the writings of various authors, it appears to have stipulated the acknowledgment of the limits of France as described in the constitution, and also the existence of the affiliated republics; while the court of Vienna obtained the integrity of the German empire, and the restitution of Mantua. It was soon found, that, however gratifying the hope of repose was to their subjects, both governments were highly dissatisfied with the treaty: the emperor conceiving that his probabilities of success entitled him to better terms, and that he could not have been expected to accept of worse had his affairs been really desperate; while the cabinet of the Luxembourg, involved in schemes of ambition and private animosity, detested the treaty which preserved the life and augmented the fame of Buonaparte, whom they feared; gave credit and ascendancy to the pacific directors, whom they abhorred; and seemed an impediment to the system of plunder

and

CHAP. and revolution on which they depended*. Thus
 XXIII. while they ratified this odious compact, they were
 1797. determined not to convert it into a permanent
 form of pacification; but to await the progress of
 events, for means of unsettling the principles which
 it conceded.

When Buonaparte wrote his letter to the archduke; proposing an accommodation, he was planning the sacrifice of the ancient republic of Venice to those which he had recently founded; and although he knew that the emperor would object to seizing by force on the territory of an ally, he had no doubt; after having himself incurred the infamy of invading and conquering it, that he could cause it to be accepted as a compensation for some ceded territory. When general Loudon had forced the small French corps left on the Adige to shut itself up in the castle of Verona, the inhabitants of Terra Firma, seeing only two or three thousand men of Joubert's division return, and believing the rest exterminated, followed the example of the Tyrolians, arming themselves, and putting to the sword or taking prisoners all the little

* For some curious particulars respecting the manner in which this treaty was received and evaded, see Carnot's Answer to Bailleul, *passim*. At p. 74, English translation, he observes, "Réveillère was furious as a tyger; Rewbell sighed deeply; and Barras, unable to contain his rage, sprang from his seat like a madman, exclaiming to Carnot: "Yes; it is to you that we are indebted for the infamous treaty of Leoben."

French detachments they could meet ; and they forced general Ballaud, who commanded at Verona, to seek an asylum in the castle. In a week forty thousand peasants had taken up arms, and joining general Loudon, compelled Ballaud to request an armistice of six days, preparatory to a capitulation; in which period he hoped for an alteration in the face of affairs. General Kilmaine, who commanded in Lombardy, had marched towards the Adige; the French troops encamped in the Bergamese and the Brescian, united with the revolutionary party, had attacked, pillaged, and burnt, the town of Salo, and directed their course towards the same point, marking their whole route by traces of barbarous vengeance; and Kilmaine, having reduced the whole country on the right bank of the river, pushed forward towards Verona.

Meanwhile general Augereau, who commanded between the Adige and the Piave, alarmed at the progress of the insurrection, and masking the natural ferocity of his character, published a moderate and delusive proclamation, proposing amnesty and oblivion, in terms calculated to suspend operations till Buonaparte's army could arrive. This force was already passing, by forced marches, through Styria and Carinthia, seizing, as it advanced, all the Venetian states, and leaving in every place garrisons, commanders, municipalities, and all the appendages of

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conquest and revolution. Buonaparte had already made a pretext of the insurrections in the Brescian and Bergamese, which took place in March, to write to the senate of Venice a haughty and threatening letter ; which produced from them an exculpatory answer, a proclamation to their own people, and a deputation to the leader of the French, which was received with gloomy indifference, though without any immediate declaration of future intentions.

3d May. But as soon as Buonaparte had assembled a part of his army in the Friuly, he published at Palmanuova a declaration of war against the republic, founded on fifteen most unjust and fabulous allegations, and in a few days took unresisted possession of all their states on Terra Firma, suffering his soldiers to live at discretion, and his officers to plunder without shame or decency ; robbing the nobles not only of money, wine, clothing, and other articles of immediate necessity, but even of their carriages and horses. Terrified, and incapable of a magnanimous

11th. though hopeless exertion, the governors convoked a senate extraordinary, which, hoping to avert the fury of the French, by adopting their system of revolution, voted, by a majority of seven hundred and forty to five, that the existing government was burthensome to the people, unsuited to times and circumstances, and therefore deprived themselves of their functions and authorities, and invited the French to Venice for the maintenance of order. The senate was replaced by a democratic municipality

municipality of sixty, composed of the refuse of all nations and professions, who presented, as the first fruits of revolution, proclamations in the name of liberty and equality; declaring the sacred duty of insurrection, and the sovereignty of the people.

The populace, however, warmly attached to their ancient government, furiously tore down the proclamations, abused the new-fangled municipality, and reared the ancient flag of their country in the middle of the great square, shouting their accustomed rallying word, *Viva San Marco!* and compelling all people to join in the cry. Being joined by a great number of Slavonians, they seized the arsenals, equipped sloop with cannon, and made preparations for defence. The men of property, more alarmed than ever at a resistance which threatened the destruction of the city, urged the arrival of the French, who were received without opposition; for the people, destitute of leaders or advisers, seeing the cause they were desirous to maintain abandoned even by those for whose sake it was to be supported, relapsed into torpor, and desisted from exertion. The new municipality shewed, at first, some disposition towards moderation; but when their power was confirmed, and the doge and senators had buried their claims to distinction under the general term citizen, private vengeance began to be exercised, and several nobles, a bishop, and some

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priests, were arrested on futile pretences, and shot under the walls of Verona.

All property, private as well as public, was, in a most infamous and disgraceful manner, seized by the generals, officers, and privates of the army, and their attendant robbers invested with the names of fiscal, commissaries, savans, and philosophers. Their rapacious and destructive fury soon bereft this ancient, famous, and beautiful city of its treasures, magazines, monuments of the arts, scientific and literary curiosities, and left it but a skeleton of its former grandeur. This the republican general, in bitter mockery, called the *regeneration of Venice*; and as a reward for his labours, besides the plunder with which individuals were shamefully enriched, claimed from his unresisting victims that the Terra Firma and the port of Venice should be occupied by the French till some definitive agreement could be made; that the fleet and arsenal should be at his disposal; and a contribution of eighty millions (3,500,000*l.*) paid. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, he afterwards demanded a million and a half of ducats in ready money, maintenance for his troops till their retreat, the value of three millions (1,312,500*l.*) in naval supplies, six ships of the line completely equipped, forty paintings at the choice of the French commissioners, the most precious manuscripts in the library of St. Mark, and the four famous horses and two lions brought from Constantinople.

When

When these demands were gratified, and public re-
 quisitions could be urged no further, the plunder of
 individuals was again licensed, and all sorts of property
 seized, as avarice or wantonness directed the view of
 the spoiler.

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While these scenes were transacted in Venice, part of Buonaparte's army took possession of Friuly and Dalmatia, Corfou, and several other islands in the Adriatic. The general was perfectly apprised of the repugnance both of the emperor and his own government to carry into effect all the stipulations of the late treaty, and therefore prepared with greater eagerness to execute his grand plan of revolutionising all Italy, that he might, in case he was again obliged to advance, be relieved from inquietude with regard to his rear. Genoa had already been prepared for insurrection; jacobin clubs were formed; the approaching crisis was announced by Salicetti; and the French official journal had been instructed to declare, that the Genoese had no constitution, but that an oligarchy obstinately persisted in the exercise of arbitrary power. Speedily after these denunciations, Faypoult, the French minister at
 21st and
 22d May.
 Genoa, excited a tumult, in which about seven or eight hundred French, Genoese, and Lombard revolutionists, smugglers, vagabonds, and malefactors, escaped from prison or the galleys, declared themselves to be the people of Genoa in insurrection against oligarchy; abolished the imposts; deposed the magistrates,

CHAP. gistrates, and chose new from among themselves; took
 XXIII. possession of the port, the arsenal, and the gates; and
 1797. treated with contempt abject proposals sent to them
 by government.

Yet this dastardly and treacherous government was not driven through weakness to despair; the real people of Genoa, the workmen, tradesmen, merchants, and householders, provoked at the insolence of the banditti, demanded arms for the protection of the state, but were refused. Enraged no less at the pusillanimity of their governors than the insolence of the factious group who attempted to oppress them, the people forced the arsenal; and fifteen thousand having armed, sallied forth, shouting *Viva Maria ed il principe!* routed the brigands, and asked no recom-

23d. pence but that of paying their personal respects to the doge. On the following day, thirty thousand armed peasants came in, completed the dispersion of the jacobin clubs, and seized their papers, containing revolutionary proclamations, lists of their associates, of proscription, and of suspected persons.

26th. Buonaparte, informed of these events, and perceiving that no hope remained of obtaining a revolution by means of the prepared mob, detached a large portion of his army under generals Rusca and Sahuguet; at whose approach the senate, by a decree, authorized three of its members to co-operate with Buonaparte in making such changes in the constitution

as would suit the political system of Italy. In pursuance of these authorities, the republic of Genoa was changed to the Ligurian republic, with a constitution after the French model—a directory, councils of ancients and of juniors; and, for the pretended blessing thus conferred, Buonaparte rewarded himself, as usual, by a general requisition, an enormous contribution, and the plunder of all property, public as well as private. The little unobtrusive republic of Lucca underwent a similar revolution, and paid for it the same price. Preparations were made for exciting revolutionary commotions in Piedmont, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples; political ferments were created in all these places, the popular mind poisoned by incendiary placards, attempts made to seduce the military, and ridicule and contempt cast on the clergy, and on religion itself; but the moment was not yet arrived for carrying these projects into execution, and the discussions on the treaty for peace became daily more perplexed*.

While France was thus depriving other countries of their established governments, their religion, their laws, their wealth, and their importance, she was far from deriving from these spoliations the smallest internal advantage. The national pride was gratified by narratives of easy conquest, and expectations of the splendid plunder of ancient re-

* Histories; History of the Campaign of 1796; &c.

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positories of the fine arts ; but it could not escape observation that these acquisitions were of small value, compared with the mass of wealth arising from industry of which the nation was deprived, by dispatching armies to obtain them ; or that the account of the means by which they were extorted must render them a stigma, not an honour to the nation, whenever the clamours of revolutionary triumph should cease, and the voice of truth and reason obtain a hearing. With respect to the formation of new republics on their own model, the thinking part of the French nation felt too sincerely the iniquity and contemptibility of their government to consider it adapted to any moral or political use, and looked on the directory and military, who so anxiously disseminated it, as men who, in the gloomy insanity occasioned by some venomous contagion, endeavoured to spread its influence far and wide, that others may become partakers in their agonies.

The distraction of government was at the highest pitch : the new elections, by giving seats to some men of greater abilities than had before been chosen, and of characters comparatively unblemished, afforded foundation to a strong and popular opposition, who censured public proceedings with a freedom which upstart tyranny could ill endure, and a force which made oppression writhe in anguish and meditate bloody revenge. One great topic of discussion, in which the opposition shewed great ability, and made their
 assaults

assaults with considerable success, was the state of the colonies. In this review they demonstrated the vice and wickedness originating in the errors of all parties who had held the authorities of government since the revolution, and which the wickedness, corruption, and rapacity, of the directory had considerably augmented. One of their most blameable measures was that of sending agents to sell the property of emigrants, and whom they were subsequently obliged to recal; but not till the colonies, which were not in the possession of the English, especially St. Domingo, appeared lost for ever to all European authority, by the complete ascendancy of the people of colour.

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Finance was, as usual, a subject of the most perplexing solicitude and acrimonious debate. On this topic, Gilbert Desmorlières presented a long report, calculated to interest the public curiosity, and excite the resentment of government. After laying down the obvious principle that no good system could be formed without a combination of three essential requisites, foresight, order, and economy, he proceeded to shew how deficient the present administrators were in all these particulars: by neglecting to keep proper accounts of expences, and of the charges affecting the country, they had involved the public affairs in endless confusion; the arrears in different departments amounted to six hundred millions of livres (26,250,000*l.*), and they had taken by anticipation from the future revenue thirty-two millions (1,410,000*l.*);

CHAP. (1,410,000*l.*); their contracts were fraudulent and
 XXIII. improvident, and the ordinary expences of the year
 1797. could not be less than three hundred and ninety-five
 millions (17,281,250*l.*). Having proposed several
 specious, though uncertain, modes of economy for
 reducing this sum, and raising the supplies, he ad-
 verted to the extraordinary expences, which the
 minister of finance had estimated at five hundred and
 fifty millions (24,062,500*l.*), a computation which
 the reporter decried as enormous; it might surely,
 he said, be diminished by a hundred and fifty, or
 two hundred millions, if the army of the interior
 were properly reduced, and measures taken to prevent
 speculation in the expences, and prodigality in the
 distribution of rations. The remainder of the report
 consisted of projects of reform, economy, and justice;
 but the statement was too striking and too true to
 leave much hope of seeing credit revive, nor were the
 people deluded into an opinion that they were rich
 and safe by an abusive speech which Bailleul made the
 next day against the reporter. The debates which
 ensued afforded considerable information on the
 measures and conduct of the directory: it was proved
 that they had obtained the disposal of ninety-seven
 millions (424,375,000*l.*), besides at least twenty millions
 (975,000*l.*) received in contributions, under pretence
 that they would thus be enabled to make peace.
 The army of Italy, far from being an incumbrance,
 had sent supplies to the exchequer; the expence of the
 army

army of the North was almost entirely defrayed by the Batavian republic; and those of the Sambre and Meuse, and Rhine and Moselle, were chiefly supported in the conquered countries: yet, in the midst of these advantageous circumstances, the most pressing difficulties were experienced, and the directory were ever complaining of the distress of the treasury. These clamours arose from an infamous peculation in the modes of expenditure, and a thriftless distribution of the funds intended for payment. The army list was said to contain fifty thousand men to be paid, clothed, and accoutred, more than had ever been really enrolled; and the military hospitals charged for patients who had never entered their walls, or who had long been dead: "and this," said Dupont de Nemours, who was stating the facts, "is only a corner lifted up of the curtain which conceals these enormities." On the thriftless expenditure, he observed, that while large sums were issued for the opera, the conservatory of music, the riding-school at Versailles, and lavished on manufactories of arms no longer wanting, and on buildings of mere ornament, the directory had sent to the councils an alarming message on the state of the hospitals, affirming, that out of three hundred and fifty foundlings, three hundred had died for want of the first necessaries*. These debates produced no

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* This message was examined by the committee of expences; who reported, that it was *considerably exaggerated!*

good

CHAP. good effect, except information ; the demands of the
 XXIII. directory were often refused, but no system founded
 1797. on wise and honest principles was adopted.

Religion also occupied a conspicuous share in the deliberations of the legislative bodies. The horrors experienced by catholic priests during the reign of terror were exchanged only for a more tranquil, though not less systematic, persecution under the system of philosophy. None of the laws which imposed oaths and declarations on professors of all persuasions, even on those whose tenets did not allow them to take an oath, were repealed ; but, instead of *noyades* and the *guillotine*, the fashionable penalties of *seclusion* and *deportation* were applied. As reporter of a committee, to which the revision of the laws respecting public worship and its ministers had been referred, Camille Jourdan made a most able
 17th June. and luminous statement of the wrongs and oppressions to which an unoffending body of men had been subjected ; and proved, that, under pretence of preserving freedom, the different legislatures had taken from all the adherents of the catholic faith the essentials requisite to freedom of worship ; and he particularly instanced the laws for preventing the use of bells, as precluding the possibility of convoking the people in large districts, and depriving them of one integral part of that form of worship to which the majority of the nation were attached.

Camille Jourdan's report was assailed, immediately

on its publication, with all the virulence of invective; and every base passion and every unfounded fear was appealed to, for the formation of a strong party against its principles. The old calumnies were revived against the characters of the ministers of religion; and the people were taught to fear that, by the toleration proposed for them, they would be enabled to resume such a portion of power as would furnish means, and animate the desire, of vengeance. These sentiments, enforced, as usual, by sarcasm and abuse, did not arise solely from the desire of maintaining uninterrupted possession of wealth, or from the general wish entertained by the atheistical faction of philosophers to prevent the establishment of any religious system. Larevielliere Lepaux, a deformed stigmatic, who, according to the expression of Carnot, disbelieved the existence of a God and passed his life in tormenting mankind, had enrolled himself among those who professed to be worshippers of the Supreme Being, and benefactors of the human race*. This little wretch, whose chief passion seems to have been hatred, detested the pope as an avowed head of a numerous body professing the christian religion, and was ambitious to degrade him by patronising a rival establishment, called, in the whimsical jargon of revolutionary philosophers, the sect of Theophilanthropists †. He

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* Answer to Bailleul, p. 38, English translation.

† French *Théophilanthropes*; a name which the people of Paris, by a pun, according to their fashion, converted into *tous ces filous en troupes*.

invented

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invented a kind of koran for the new sect, the reading of which was endured by the national institute, but the ever-ready flatteries of that body were withheld from the deformed offspring of this deformed director, and the projected code fell into general contempt. Lareveilliere, rendered additionally four by this inauspicious event, persecuted, with redoubled fury, every thing connected with religion ; thought only of exterminating Christianity, and regarded as the most important of the republican triumphs those which threatened the see of Rome, or promised the debasement or destruction of any of those monuments which the superstitious adherents of papacy blindly venerated*.

To the malignant efforts of this man the rancorous publications of the day were in a great measure attributed : but the council of five hundred did not desist from their honourable toil ; and Dubruel
26th June. moved a resolution for repealing the laws which inflicted the penalty of deportation or seclusion on those priests who refused to take the oaths, and those which subjected to penalties all who harboured such priests. The proposition was long and warmly debated : among the most conspicuous opponents of religious toleration was general Jourdan, who maintained, contrary to truth, and even to the evidence of Hoche, that religious fanaticism had occasioned

* See Carnot, ubi supra.

the war in La Vendée*. An orator, previously unknown, named Royer Collard, distinguished himself on the other side; and, finally, laws were framed, in conformity to Dubruel's propositions. Priests were exempted from all obligatory forms, except a promise of submission to the government of the French republic; but the political convulsion which almost immediately ensued prevented the attainment of any considerable benefit from these concessions.

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Other debates were maintained on transactions arising out of the most violent excesses, committed during the most tempestuous period of the revolution. When the French took possession of the Low-countries, their cruelty and oppression, or the fear justly entertained by the inhabitants, induced many to fly from their abodes, and the conquerors seized all their property. The rapacity and distress of the government after the fall of Robespierre long prevented any application for their relief; but, at length, a report was presented disclosing the horrors and cruelties committed under the proconsulship of St. Just and Le Bas, aided by a subordinate assassin, named Schneider, which had compelled many natives of those countries to abandon their dwellings. These unfortunate persons were allowed by the convention to return, but within a very brief

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* Hoche more justly ascribed it to anti-religious fanaticism.

period :

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period : some had preserved from the wreck of their property a sufficient sum to bribe the republicans to ferry them across the Rhine to their own homes ; but others, delayed by distance or difficulty, were forbidden to pass ; and even those who had returned on the faith of the decree, were imprisoned by commissioners from the directory, on pretence of not being included in the terms of the law. A deputy affirmed that he had seen great numbers of these unhappy persons, without relief or support, thrown into gaol in promiscuous heaps, in which were included old men, women, and children at the breast. As the effect of the report tended to favour the emigrants, a class of men at once hated and feared, the debates were conducted with great warmth ; and Bailleul, a versatile man of business, without talent, but abjectly devoted to government, endeavoured to divert the attention of the council from the subject, by proposing a general enquiry into the state of the republic. This attempt was followed by a message from the directory respecting the city of Lyons, which they represented as a scene of excess and violence, infested by counter-revolutionary brigands, who, under the names of *Chauffeurs*, and *Compagnons de Jesus*, were endeavouring to overturn the republic.

Camille Jourdan, replete with indignation at these calumnies, defended with great warmth the cause of this city, of which he was a native and representative. He displayed the exaggerations of the directory and
their

their iniquity in making such a report, unsupported by official documents. He affirmed that the assassinations, depicted in such glowing colours, might be reduced to one single, excusable, though not justifiable, fact; that of a young man stabbing a member of the revolutionary tribunal, who had condemned his father to the scaffold. He shewed that, the national guard of the city being disarmed, no effectual measures could be taken for preserving tranquillity; and, after an animated apostrophe against those who sought to perfect the destruction of Lyons, moved the order of the day on the message. In the course of the debates, general Willot, who was a member of the council, and had recently passed through the calumniated city, deposed, that he found the public spirit unexceptionable, though sometimes a small number of foreign incendiaries had succeeded in exciting commotions. The message was, at last, referred to a committee.

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Having thus defeated the manœuvre of government, the opposition proceeded in discussing the proposition for allowing an enlarged period for the return of supposed emigrants from the Low-countries. They sent a resolution to that effect to the ancients; but that council refused to sanction the measure. Similar exertions in favour of the involuntary fugitives from Avignon, Bedouin, and Toulon, met with the same fate, though recommended to the superior council by the eloquence of

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Tronçon Ducoudray; and a law for removing the sequestration from the effects of the parents and grandfathers of emigrants was disposed of in the same manner. Another attempt was made in favour of some unhappy men of this persecuted class, who, having embarked on board an English ship to sail to India, were wrecked near Calais, and detained more than a year in prison. These facts were indisputably proved; and as they had never borne arms against the republic, both councils agreed in a law for liberating and sending them to a neutral country; but the directory would not carry it into effect.

Besides these domestic occurrences, the conduct of the French government towards neutral nations was loudly censured; the injustice, rapacity, and violence, which had irritated the people of America, and the conduct of Buonaparte towards the republics of Venice and Genoa, were exposed to great animadversion. The directory, it was said, had, through their general, assumed, in defiance of the constitution, the right of making war; but the subjects being too delicate for public decision, were referred to
23d June. a special committee; and Buonaparte was encouraged in his proceedings by a letter from the directory, mentioning them in terms of high approbation.

These spirited contests formed part of a system of hostilities, in which it became obvious that the government must either make sacrifices to its safety, or fall.

The

CHAP. directory had taken measures for their own pro-
 XXIII. tection: they had almost entirely changed the

1797. ministry * ; and foreseeing that an opposition, headed by Pichegru, Willot, and other experienced generals, would not easily be conquered, were preparing to violate the constitution, by drawing a large military force round Paris. This intention was not kept sufficiently secret to prevent the circulation of re-

21st. ports ; and surmise was changed for certainty when Aubry, in the name of the committee of inspectors of the hall, declared that four regiments of chasseurs, with part of the staff of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, were marching for Ferté-Alais, a village about seven leagues from Paris, while the constitution limited their approach to twelve leagues. A message to the directory being voted, Carnot, as president of that body, and the minister at war, declared themselves totally uninformed. Pichegru proposed a reorganisation of the national guard ; and Henry Lariviere affirmed, not without reason, that he perceived symptoms of a new 31st of May : the

* Merlin continued minister of justice, and Ramel of finances ; Talleyrand Perigord, the celebrated bishop of Autun, was minister for foreign affairs instead of Charles Delacroix ; and for domestic affairs, François de Neufchateau was substituted for Benezech. Pleville-le-Peley minister of the marine, and Cochon minister of general police, were removed ; and their situations given to Truguet and Lenoir Laroche : Petiet, minister at war, was also displaced ; and his office, after being refused by general Hoche, was conferred on general Scherer.

directory,

directory, he added, were divided among themselves, two members having protested against the late change of ministers.

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During these debates, the directory sent a message, signed by Carnot, as president, accounting for the movement of the troops which had occasioned so much uneasiness, as part of their progress towards a distant place, and observing that the apparent violation of the constitution had taken place merely through the inadvertence of a commissary. Such a shallow apology, instead of appeasing, inflamed the discontent of the council: in the evening sitting, Barbé Marbois declared that a considerable quantity of cannon, ammunition, muskets, and other warlike stores, were passing through St. Denis; and on the following day it was announced, that two regiments of infantry, and a demi-brigade of cavalry, had arrived at Etampes. The directory took no care to tranquillise the suspicions to which these acts gave birth, but treated the council with haughty indifference. To a message requiring information respecting the state of Paris and the departments, they evasively answered, that the mass of people in the capital were calm, and that a knowledge of the state of the departments could only be derived from the perusal of voluminous documents, which the minister had not yet had time to arrange. Another message was answered in a quibbling style, calculated to justify the approach of troops, by citing different authorities, proving

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proving that Ferté-Alais was twelve leagues from Paris; and the directory at length furnished the council with a state of the army, which was referred to a committee.

If the discovery of their projects was calculated to alarm the conspiring majority of the directory, the feeble conduct of their opponents restored their courage. Instead of proceeding with revolutionary vigour, such as they were sure would be used by the directors, they formed decrees for abolishing two clubs which had been opened under the name of constitutional circles, and in dispatching a mes-

25th.

sage to ascertain the age of Barras. The directory attempted to divert the public attention by an alarming account of the state of finances; but the

26th.

opposition, pursuing the important theme of the marching of troops, demonstrated that they had transgressed the limits prescribed by the constitution, and obtained a law for establishing on all the public roads at a certain distance from Paris columns inscribed with articles from the constitutional code, and a decree forbidding the advance of armies beyond them;—a most feeble and shallow attempt in a period so critical.

In a few days the council were rendered still more sensible of their danger by an authenticated report that Hoche was at Rheims with twenty-seven thousand men, and that it was their intention to march to Paris, to annihilate the legislative body, which

which was inimical to peace, and wished to destroy the government. Intimations were given of an intention to move for an impeachment of some of the directors; but it was apparent that timidity, hesitation, variety of views, and want of mutual confidence, would prevent the adoption of the only mode of conduct which could, in the present state of affairs, tend to the advantage of opposition.

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Instead of endeavouring, by means of influence or persuasion, to gain supporters in the council of five hundred, the directory relied on the attachment of the army, and were highly gratified by the conduct of Buonaparte, who, in celebrating the revolutionary festival of the 14th of July, made a speech full of insinuations against the council, and obliged his troops to take an oath, swearing *implacable war* against the enemies of the republic, *and of the constitution of the year III**. His officers, in their toasts, expressed their sentiments with still greater decision; and the directory and council of ancients received the compliment of a bumper, while the five hundred were not only deprived of this testimony of good will, but loaded with unequivocal execrations. The sentiments of this day formed the basis of many addresses sent by divisions of the army of Italy to the troops in the interior, most

* When he made his followers take this oath, Buonaparte did not foresee that, in little more than two years, he should be the destroyer of that very constitution; and, so far as the term expresses a particular form of government, of the republic.

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of which were distinguished for violence; but particularly one from the division under Augereau, which rivalled in virulence, abuse, and threats, the productions of the most licentious days of the revolution. The atrocity of these proceedings, so repugnant to the constitution and to every principle of social order, was rendered complete by an address from the staff of the same army, avowing all the sentiments contained in the various missives already circulated, and threatening death to those who should shew themselves royalists;—a term which they had previously shewn they meant to apply to the opponents of government.

10th. On the festival of the 10th of August, the council of five hundred declared their sentiments, and refuted the calumnies advanced against them. The president said, they were animated only by the desire of peace; and it was decreed that the armed citizens who, on the 10th of August, 1792, vanquished royalty, had deserved well of the country. A message was received the same day from the directory, charging the march of the troops to Ferté-Alais entirely on Hoche, denying the distribution of arms, and excusing the addresses of the army of Italy. The clause in the constitution forbidding armed bodies to *deliberate* was not, they said, sufficiently determinate to apply to the act by which, after pouring their fears and their hopes into the bosom of the directory and of their brave brothers in arms, the defenders of the country

country had only expressed their wishes and sentiments; but the directory had stopped the circulation of these papers, and written to the general on the subject. To these declarations were added a view of the causes of the present discontents, which were plainly attributed to the acts of the council, and a declaration of the intentions of the directory. They hoped to save the nation from that dissolution towards which some men were precipitately urging it; to extinguish the torches of civil war, which some men were furiously kindling; and to save persons and property from the perils of a new commotion: this resolution they would follow with perseverance and courage, undeterred by fear, and unmoved by allurements; but they would never consent to impart a false security either to their fellow-citizens in the interior, or to the external defenders of the country. They should consider themselves traitors to the nation were they to disguise the fatal attempts incessantly made to produce the horrors of a new revolution, by effecting, either by treason or force, the overthrow of the existing order of things.

This message was by both councils referred to a committee: in the ancients the report ^{20th Aug.} was made by Tronçon Ducoudray, who was selected for the task, on account of his acknowledged moderation and talents. He gave a full detail of the conduct of the directory and armies; shewing, in many instances, their inconsistency with the letter and spirit of

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of the constitution; though he was not hasty in imputing evil intentions, and paid every respect to the bravery and services of the military. He disproved the accusation that the opposition party wished to retard peace; and shewed how unfounded were the complaints of the directory that the operations of government had been impeded for want of supplies, by exhibiting a table of the sums entrusted to them within the space of one-and-twenty months. The contributions in hard cash exceeded a milliard (43,750,000*l.*), while the loans, the contributions sent by the army of Italy, the jewels in their possession, and the sums derived from the sale of woods and lands in the Belgic provinces, amounted to one thousand and sixty millions (46,375,000*l.*) more. They had, besides, many indirect receipts, of which the amount could not be ascertained; fifty-two millions (2,284,000*l.*) in mandats for secret service; a great portion of the national domains remained unfold, and the payments to claimants were merely nominal; and yet the directory complained of not possessing money to satisfy the troops, whose entire pay amounted to no more than seventy millions (3,062,500*l.*). He concluded by recommending general reconciliation and forgetfulness of the past, but reprobated the oath administered to the army of Italy of implacable war against the enemies of the republic and of the constitution. Thibaudeau made a report equally argumentative, though more warm, to the council of five hundred

hundred ; and concluded by recommending two laws : CHAP.
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 one, charging the public accuser to prosecute all plots, machinations, and generally all offences against the legislative body, the executive directory, and each of their component members ; the other, declaring penalties against the military who should deliberate or perform collective acts.

Before any decision could take place with respect to these propositions, the three directors who had resolved to overturn by force all the impediments raised by the constitution against arbitrary power, obtained a new advantage, by the expiration of the term for which Carnot was allowed to be president of their body. This office entitled its possessor to hold the seal of state, and to speak the sentiments of government on all public occasions : Carnot had exercised these rights with great moderation ; but Lareveilliere, who succeeded on the expiration of his three months, shewed a contrary disposition. In speeches which he made to Visconti, plenipotentiary from the Cisalpine republic, and to general Bernadotte, who brought trophies from the army of Italy, he launched out into general abuse against the opponents of government ; accusing them, without reserve, of intending to annihilate the new republic, disgrace Buonaparte, and re-establish the throne. To these attacks the council of five hundred seemed inconceivably sensible ; but, in fact, they had not among themselves any principle of common

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common concord, nor did they repose in any one of their associates sufficient confidence to intrust to him the direction of their operations. The laws proposed by Thibaudeau were discussed with much warmth, and produced a great portion of personal altercation; but although the constitution was more visibly and daringly violated than before, by drawing troops still nearer to Paris, general debates were still maintained, and no vigorous effort adopted.

Hoche was first fixed on to carry the designs of the directory into execution, but they having been obliged to disavow some of his proceedings, he had retired, full of rage and disappointment, to his army; while the confidence intended for him was reposed in Augereau, whom Buonaparte had sent to Paris from the army of Italy*. Besides the regular troops at the disposal of this general, great numbers of men who had served were in Paris, soliciting employ or promotion, and were encouraged to remain in

* Augereau was, before the revolution, a private in the Neapolitan service, and a fencing-master; being expelled from Naples in 1792, he entered into the French army, and raised himself to the rank of general by his bravery and good conduct. He was, however, in private, remarkable for his presumption and vanity: his boasts deprived every other commander of all merit; and the ostentatious decoration of his person with rings and jewels formed a ridiculous contrast to his ignorance in conversation, and the gross vulgarity of his manners. See Carnot's Answer to Bailleul, p. 130, English translation.

the city, although motions had been made in the council of five hundred for their removal.

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It appears almost inconceivable that, with so many evidences of a conspiracy against them, and so many proofs of the determination of the triumvirate not to regard the restrictions of the constitution, the leading men in opposition should not be bound by some common tie, or animated by some general spirit. But, on the contrary, they were rounding periods, framing motions, and deputing commissioners to examine whether the troops had approached within their limits, while their adversaries were drawing round them the net of destruction. The sitting of the 3d of September terminated in perfect tranquillity ;

3d Sept.

and the motion on Thibaudeau's report was adjourned to the next day, a day in which the existing legislature was doomed to undergo a total alteration in its constitution and members. Many of the opposition party, sensible of the perils which awaited them, had proposed bringing forward a decree of accusation against the three directors ; while others, judging the period too much advanced for such a proceeding, proposed marching to the palace, arresting, and putting them to death, and then publishing to the people of France a statement of their motives ; but these measures of vigour were overruled by the timid, the treacherous, or the indolent. Carnot and Barthelemy, already apprised that a grand commotion was to take place, though they did not know the exact moment, attended,

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tended, for the last time, a sitting of the directory, where their adversaries were fully prepared to finish a plot which they had meditated ever since the last elections. The meeting is, with probability, said to have been no less agitated than the sittings of the councils; and the effect of an expected assassination on the conduct and countenance of Lareveilliere at the close of the sitting is finely described by one of his intended victims. "I shall ever remember," says Carnot, "his anthropophagous grin, when, as president of the directory, he closed the sitting, which he knew would be the last I should attend. He thought that in a few hours nothing of me would remain but a mangled and bloody carcass. What a hideous spectre he appeared! I fancied I beheld Charles IX. when the tocsin of St. Bartholemew was about to sound, taking leave of those who were presently to be murdered by his own orders. A poniard seemed to leap from every angle of his distorted countenance; his head was inclined upon his shoulders; his eyes, grown almost opaque, looked askance; the flesh on his cheek bones seemed agitated with a convulsive motion; and his half-opened lips protruded forwards, as it were, to meet the expected cup filled with the blood of his victim."

Carnot was not, however, negligent of his own safety: he had prepared a private way to quit his apartments in the directoral palace; and being apprised, by repeated messages from the triumvirate to ascertain

whether he was within, that their plot was ripe for execution, he hastened to make his escape, and had but just reached the garden when an officer sent to arrest him was breaking down his door with an axe. He found the palace surrounded, and the garden filled with armed men, whom with difficulty he avoided; and as he was closing the last door of the fatal precinct, he heard the firing of the alarm gun, the signal for the military to act according to their instructions. Carnot effectually secured his retreat, and reached a foreign country; but Barras, enraged at his escape, went with a party of guards, and himself arrested Barthelemy.

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Having thus partially executed the first portion of their project, the triumvirate proceeded to other operations. A committee called inspectors, appointed to prevent the approach of troops to the place of sitting of the councils, was composed of general Pichegru, Vaublanc, Thibaudeau, Emery, and Delarue, who were divided in opinions respecting the conspiracy, till general Ramel, commander of the legislative body-guard, announced an order he had received at one o'clock in the morning to attend the minister at war, and that several columns of troops were entering the city. He was a few hours afterwards summoned, in the name of the directory, to allow fifteen hundred soldiers to pass the *pont tournant*, but bravely refused, though assured that his corps of eight hundred grenadiers was surrounded by twelve

CHAP. twelve thousand men, with four pieces of cannon. In
 XXIII. this emergency he sent to Lafond-Labebat and Simeon,
 1797. the presidents of the two councils, for instructions, and gave notice of what was passing to several members. Pichegru had already ascertained that the halls were completely invested, and Ramel was consulting with the committee of inspectors, when news arrived that the *pont tournant* was forced, the garden filled with troops, and a battery forming to bear on the hall of the council of ancients. The post of the council of five hundred, defended by a brave lieutenant, named Blot, alone remained, and Ramel had vainly solicited leave to call out the reserve of grenadiers, and attempt repelling force by force, when the troops of the directory, headed by Augereau, rushed in, and, after a considerable struggle, secured all the inspectors, and several other members of the councils, who had come to share their deliberations.

Meanwhile Ramel had returned to the only defensible post which remained, and drawn up his small force, though he was prohibited from firing. At half-past five o'clock, he received from Augereau an order for his removal to the Quay d'Orsay, which he refused to obey; and his conduct was approved by the generality of his officers, though some murmurs and cries of discontent were heard. Augereau, however, soon arrived, attended by a staff of nearly four hundred officers, among whom were many of the most notorious men of blood, as Santerre, Tunck, Yon, Rossignol,

Roffignol, Puget-Barbantane, Chateauneuf-Randon, CHAP.
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Bessiere, Fournier, Pache, the widow of general 1797.
Roufin in an Amazonian habit, and Dutertre and
Peyron *, who had recently escaped from the galleys.
These men soon spread themselves among the grenadiers, and by their clamours occasioned a sentiment of revolt against Ramel, who was himself seized by Augereau, and, after breaking his sword in unavailing resistance, dragged a prisoner to the Temple.

A considerable number of members of both councils having assembled at private houses, sallied forth in their scarfs, and attempted to gain the entrance of their own halls, but were thrice repulsed by the military; while the minority of each legislative body met at a playhouse, called Odéon, and in the amphitheatre of the medical college, and made laws suited to the views of the triumvirate.

This party had, previously to the explosion of their mine, prepared proclamations to deceive the people of Paris, declaring the existence of a plot to re-establish royalty, and directing that every individual who should be found demanding a king, the constitution of 1793, or proclaiming the duke of Orleans, should be instantly shot, according to law. The council of five hundred sitting on the stage at the Odéon, while the boxes were filled with people instructed to applaud their proceedings, formed a committee of five, consisting

* An account of most of these people may be found in the Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans.

CHAP. of Syeyes, Poulain-Grandpré, Villers, Chazal, and
 XXIII. Boulay de la Meurthe; voted thanks to the directory
 1797. for saving the country; and empowered them to permit the entrance within the constitutional circle of as many troops as they should judge necessary for defence of the constitution and the republic against royalism and anarchy: they then declared the sitting permanent, but suspended further proceedings till six in the evening. The council of ancients vainly exerted every effort of craft and chicanery to make it appear that a majority of their whole body had attended, and authorised a change of the place of sitting; they confirmed, however, under pretence of *urgency*, the decree of the five hundred for permitting the directory to call in as many troops as they should judge necessary.

While the sittings were suspended, the three victorious members of the directory proceeded in arresting those whom they considered dangerous to their authority, or whom, in compliance with the feelings of either individual, the other two concurred in declaring enemies to the state. In the evening, the assembly at the Odéon received a message from the directory equally false and absurd with the proclamations in the morning, affirming the halls of the councils to have been fixed on as the scene of a conspiracy to restore royalty, and that Pichegru, in a correspondence with the prince de Condé, had formed a plot, which would have been executed; but that the prince

prince himself refused to afford his sanction. These accusations were supported by correspondence said to be intercepted, but which, from the strongest internal evidence, appeared to be forged; and some pretended confessions of Duverne de Presle, one of the royalist conspirators arrested by means of Carnot, at the commencement of the year *. Boulay de la Meurthe, from the committee of five, presented a report on the late events; in which, after assuming the old revolutionary principle, that the state of the times forbade methodical and profound discussions, but required vigorous and prompt exertion, he imputed to the two directors and the members of the late opposition a long series of political crimes, beginning with that of impeding the conclusion of peace, and terminating with that of intending to convert all France into an extensive La Vendée. He then detailed the patriotic views of the triumphant faction; declared their aversion to bloodshed; observed that deportation must in future be the great means of salvation to the state, and the penalty to be incurred by all the irreconcilable enemies of liberty and the republic; and intimated that such must be the punishment inflicted on the present conspirators, but the place of their destination must be left to the discretion of the directory.

Poulain-Grandpré and Villiers next occupied the tribune, and read drafts of laws annulling the elections

* See chap. xxii.

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in forty-nine departments, and ordering the deportation of forty members of the council of five hundred, including generals Pichegru and Willot, Dumolard, Boissy-d'Anglas, Henry Lariviere, Camille Jourdan, and Pastoret; eleven of the council of ancients, among whom were Barbé Marbois, Lafond-Ladebat, and Tronçon du Coudray. Carnot and Barthelemy were included in the list, as were Brothier, Lavilleheurnois, and Duverne de Presle, though condemned by one tribunal to a less severe punishment, and waiting for trial before another; generals Miranda and Morgan, whose crimes no one could conjecture; and Ramel, of the nature of whose offence no man entertained a doubt. The fate of all these victims was rendered additionally cruel by the sequestration of their property till accounts should be received of their arrival at a place to be appointed by the directory: the council boasted of this proceeding as an act of mercy, though it prevented the prisoners from procuring even the most common necessaries for their comfort and accommodation in the voyage they were afterwards doomed to make. The remainder of the five hundred passed sentence without hesitation, and, although it was midnight, forwarded their resolution to the ancients; who appointed a committee, received their report at seven the next morning, and, after a feeble resistance, concurred, without the ceremony of an *appel nominal*. Laws of the greatest severity were enacted against emigrants and their

their relations; a new oath was imposed of hatred to royalty and anarchy, and attachment and fidelity to the republic and the constitution of the year 3. All journals, periodical papers, and the presses for printing them, were put under the inspection of the police for a year; the late laws for re-organising the national guard were abrogated; and the directory were invested with the power of declaring any commune in a state of siege. These, and some other regulations equally tyrannical and vengeful, gave to the executive power a complete dictatorial authority, and terminated the glimmering prospect which some still affected to view of liberty restored by the exertions of French philosophers.

During the ensuing days the private vengeance of the directors added considerable numbers to the list of sacrifices. Barthelemy*, and the imprisoned deputies, were removed from the Temple in cages of iron, mounted on carriages, such as are used for the conveyance of wild beasts, and began their journey to the coast of Guiana, without time or

* Among the traits of horror and barbarity which mark these events, it is pleasant to record the affectionate attentions which the victims received from their consorts, relations, and friends; and particularly the heroic attachment of an old servant of Barthelemy, named Letellier, whom neither scoffs, nor threats, nor wounds inflicted by savage hands, could deter from the generous resolution of soothing by his assiduities the exile of his unfortunate master. This worthy man expired in his passage back to Europe.

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means to make the slightest preparation for their removal. The triumvirate, anxious to enjoy the brutal and cowardly pleasure of contemplating their fallen adversaries, caused the cars to pass before the Luxembourg; and the walls of that palace, already rendered by its inhabitants the inclosure of every imaginable crime, re-echoed with the mirthful plaudits of a ruffian band, whose savage exultation would have disgraced the untutored aborigines of America*.

7th and 8th. Merlin and François de Neufchateau were elected in lieu of the expelled directors, and government prepared to exercise their new powers with revolutionary vigour and apparent hopes of success. As a proof how highly they estimated their triumph, they decreed that it should be annually observed as a festival: they repealed the laws of mercy framed by the expelled party; laid taxes to relieve the immediate necessities of the state, particularly a turnpike rate, and stamps on periodical publications: they also re-established lotteries; and reduced the public debt to one-third of its previous amount, not by pay-

* The cruelties and insults, the confinement, the cords, and the famine, endured by these unfortunate persons during their journey to Rochefort and their subsequent voyage of fifty days to Guiana, were commensurate to the inhumanity which marked their outset; nor did any great alleviation of torture await their arrival: their situation was marked by every kind of wretchedness; some died, some escaped into foreign countries, and some, after undergoing inexpressible miseries, have been permitted to revisit their native land.

ment,

ment, but by a decree. This revolution was boasted as having occasioned no bloodshed, but as being a mere affair of finance; but neither finance nor commerce was benefited by its consequences: trade, the arts, letters, and public prosperity, seemed to shrink before the violence offered to all law and social order by the late proceedings; and the little spirit imparted by the apparent progress of a constitution, however vicious, and the hope of peace, vanished amid the alarms occasioned by tyranny and violence*.

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* This series of transactions is called, from the day on which the principal events occurred, *La Révolution du 18e Fructidor* (4th Sept.). The vanquished party declared their intention to make it another 20th of June; but after their defeat called it a new 31st of May: the victors compared it to the 10th of August, when, according to them, a royalist conspiracy was overthrown; although, from the associates they employed, and a near coincidence in dates, it was impossible, in viewing it, not to recollect the 2d of September. The facts in this chapter are derived from the histories and periodical works; and the latter events from Carnot's Reply to Bailleur, Ramel's Narrative, Secret Anecdotes of the 18th Fructidor, and the Narrative of J. J. Job-Aimé, all printed in French, translated and republished in London

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The French land a few Troops in Pembrokeſhire—who are captured—Great Britain reſolves to commence a Negotiation for Peace—State of the Country—Efforts in the Weſt Indies—Engagement off Cape St. Vincent—Bombardment of Cadiz—Attack on Teneriffe—Lord Malmesbury opens a Negotiation at Liſle—Its Progreſs—He is diſmiſſed by the French—Preparations in the Dutch Ports—Sea-fight off Camperdown—Progreſs of the Negotiation with the Emperor—Injuſtice of the Directory—Treaty of Campo Formio—Army of England—Buonaparte Commander—Anxiety of the Directory to renew Hoſtilities with the Pope—Firmneſs of Pius VI.—The Ciſalpine Republic ſeizes a Part of his Dominions—Joſeph Buonaparte ſent as Embaſſador to Rome—His incendiary Manœuvres—An Inſurrection excited under his Auſpices—General Duphot killed—Berthier ſent to plunder Rome—His fallacious Promiſes—He takes Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of St. Angelo—and Gates of Rome—He enters the City—Announces a revolutionary Government—Inſults and Cruelties exerciſed againſt the Pope—The French plunder and deſtroy all Sorts of Property—Mutiny among the French Officers—Inſurrection of the Natives—ſeverely puniſhed—Suppreſſion and Plunder of Monaſteries—Federation—Conſtitution

—*Constitution—Jacobin Club—Degraded and miserable Condition of the Romans—Views of France on Switzerland—Arts and Exertions used to excite Comotions—Message from the Executive Directory—An Army sent to Switzerland—Irresolution of the Cantons—Aggression of France—A Hussar killed—Negotiations—An Armistice agreed on—Heroic Exertions of General Erlach—Weakness of the Government—Brune's Ultimatum—His Proclamations—Jealousies spread among the Swiss Troops—The French take Friburg and Soleure—advance against Bern—The Populace of that City change the Government—Insolent Demand of the French General—Defeat of Erlach—Capture of Bern—Excesses of the defeated Army—Escape of the Avoyer Steiguer—Murder of Erlach—Instances of unavailing Valour—The French, in Violation of a Treaty, proceed to conquer other Cantons—Inhuman Hostilities—and Massacre at Underwalden—Subjugation of Switzerland—a Portion of which is annexed to France.*

THE war between Great Britain and France 1797. was now totally unconnected with the military operations on the continent of Europe. The French government, envious of the commercial prosperity of her rival, and desirous to destroy her naval superiority and annihilate her political existence, felt sanguine hopes of effecting these ends when Holland and Spain, who commenced the war as allies, had been rendered the enemies of Great Britain. The disappointment experienced

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CHAP. experienced in the late invasion of Ireland did not
 XXIV. appear to depress the directory; who, on the con-

1797. trary, issued proclamations and collected troops, as if they seriously intended another expedition. On a sudden they placed fourteen hundred men on board four vessels, which sailed from Brest, and, entering the British Channel, destroyed a few merchant ships in the harbour of Ilfracomb in Devonshire. They then proceeded to Fishguard in Pembrokehire, where

24th Feb. the troops landed without artillery, but with seventy cart-loads of powder and ball.

Three thousand of the inhabitants, including seven hundred militia, were immediately collected under lord Cawdor; and the French commander, without attempting any military exploit, surrendered his whole party prisoners of war. Some of the invaders consisted of good troops; but the remainder were convicts and other prisoners, almost in a state of nakedness: the intent of the enterprise could never be ascertained, nor could a probable motive be assigned.

9th March. except that of clearing the French prisons. The frigates from which they landed were captured before they could regain the French coast and after a few months the invading troops were sent back to their own country.

21st Aug. When the triumphs of the French, and the terror or treachery of his advisers, induced the emperor to resolve on negotiating peace, he apprised the king

10th April. of England of his intentions; and the British minister mentioned in the house of commons

móns, that attempts would be made, in conjunction with the other allies, to effect a general treaty. The internal state of Great Britain soon afterwards appeared to render the conclusion of peace on any terms inevitable: the bank, influenced by circumstances arising from the peculiarities of the times, stopped its payments in specie; an alarming and strongly combined mutiny prevailed in the fleet; and in Ireland open rebellion broke forth in several counties. In this arduous situation, the spirit and patriotism of the people, guided by a minister no less distinguished by political courage than splendid talents, triumphed, in the end, over every obstacle; and the national vigour was rather augmented than impaired by difficulty and distress.

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An expedition was, at an early period of the year, directed against the Spanish island of Trinidad, which surrendered to sir Ralph Abercromby; while the attendant squadron, under admiral Harvey, made several valuable prizes. An attack on the island of Porto Rico was not equally successful; but the French were foiled in several attempts on St. Domingo*, and the ascendancy of Great Britain in the West Indies was generally well maintained. An effort was made in Europe, con-

* In the course of the ensuing year (1798), the British forces entirely evacuated this island, leaving it in a state of subjection to a negro of great talents and bravery, named Touffaint Louverture.

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connected with the general principle of alarming the English nation by threats of invasion, to effect a junction of the fleet in Cadiz with that of Brest; but

14th Feb. admiral Jervis, with only fifteen sail of the line, attacked the Spanish admiral, who had twenty-seven, some of which were of extraordinary size, off Cape St. Vincent, and, after a bloody contest, captured four sail *, when the rest retired into Cadiz. The British admiral blockaded the port, and several attempts were made to destroy the town and

24th July. shipping by a bombardment, though without any great effect. Admiral Nelson, who had on every occasion eminently distinguished himself, at his own desire conducted an enterprize against the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe: the hope of success depended chiefly on surprise, but many circumstances concurred to alarm the Spaniards; and, after the loss of many lives in acts of unavailing valour, the English obtained permission and assistance to return to their ships. Among the wounded was admiral Nelson, who lost his right arm.

1st June. While such was the state of hostilities, the British ministry opened a negotiation with the French government: the city of Lisle was fixed as the place of meeting; lord Malmesbury was again

* The ships captured were Salvador del Mondo, 112 guns; San Josef, 112; San Nicolas, 84; and San Isidoro, 74. The British commander was raised to the house of peers, and, from the scene of his glory, called Earl St. Vincent.

nominated

nominated plenipotentiary on behalf of Great Britain; and Letourneur the ex-director, Pleville Lepelley, and Maret, attended on the 20th July. part of the directory. The English ministry knew too well the characteristics of the French government to expect that a pacific compact would easily be arranged; yet the appearance of an approaching peace with the emperor, and the known disposition of two members of the directory, afforded some hopes. The extensive claims of restitution made by the French during the preceding negotiation, though coloured by pretexts of an honourable regard for their allies, were, in fact, intended merely as means of gaining for themselves the most valuable colonies: nor did the directors scruple to avow their intention to keep Holland in a state of abject dependence; to plunder the country, and to acquire, either by the force or at the expence of the Dutch, the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomale, but afterwards to retain the possession themselves *. The cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo to France had materially changed the aspect of affairs in the West Indies; and therefore the first proposition of a treaty on the basis of reciprocal compensations was followed by a note, claiming, on the part of Great Britain, the retention of Trinidad, and, as an exception to the proposition of the *status quo ante bellum*, the English plenipotentiary

* See Carnot's Answer to Bailleul, p. 52.

demande

CHAP. demanded that the Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch
XXIV. possessions in Ceylon, and the town and fort of Co-
1797. chin, should be given up to his Britannic majesty, in
exchange for Negapatam and its dependencies. The
French commissioners, instead of answering these
propositions, raised a cavil on the title of King of
France, which the monarchs of Great Britain had so
long borne, and which they insisted should be no
longer used; claimed restitution of the ships captured
at Toulon, and an indemnity for those which were
destroyed; and stated several scruples respecting the
mortgages which the English government might have
on the dominions of the emperor in Flanders. These
proposals, and the collateral discussions arising from
them, consumed a large portion of time; during which
the majority of the directory were arranging their plans
for the 18th Fructidor. When that was effected,
measures of decency were not longer deemed neces-
sary; the three commissioners hitherto employed
were recalled, but before they quitted Lisle paid the
most ample and merited homage to the frankness and
honour with which lord Malmesbury had conducted
himself. Bonnier and Treilhard, both members of the
convention, and voters for the death of their king,
were their successors; and although they verbally
gave assurances of the disposition of the directory to
perfect a treaty, their questions were so captious, their
demands so extravagant, and their conduct so over-
bearing, that the unfavourable termination of the
negotiation

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negotiation was considered inevitable; and, after a few unsatisfactory notes, lord Malmesbury was ordered by the French to return within twenty-four hours, and obtain from his court the necessary powers for consenting to such restitutions as the laws and treaties of the French republic rendered indispensable.

17th Sept.

Lord Malmesbury accordingly quitted the scene of unavailing contest, while the French, in order to retain the appearance of wishing for peace, suffered their commissioners to remain some time longer, and even officially notified to the British plenipotentiary that his return was expected. This

6th Oct.

piece of duplicity was productive of a spirited letter; in which lord Malmesbury observed, that he had in his last note pointed out with precision and candour the only remaining means of continuing the negotiation: the king, he added, could not again treat in an enemy's country, without an assurance that the customs established among all civilised nations with respect to public ministers, especially those dispatched for the purpose of negotiating the re-establishment of peace, should in future be respected in the person of his plenipotentiary. This reproach was the more offensive, because obviously merited: the directory published their answer in an angry proclamation; the king of England appealed to civilised nations in a temperate manifesto; and the correspondence was afterwards officially published by the British ministry*.

* See State Papers, collections of Parliamentary Debates, &c.

CHAP. The directory were doubtless encouraged in their
 XXIV. conduct, so repugnant to the wishes of the nation, by

1797. assurances from the agents of the Irish rebels, then residing in Paris, that they could not fail in conquering that kingdom, and by the preparations making, under their direction, in Holland, for completing that important enterprize. A well-appointed fleet of eleven sail of the line, four ships of fifty-six guns, and eleven frigates, was equipped in the Dutch ports during the summer; a large body of troops were placed on board; and it was destined for Brest, where it was to join the French squadron. Admiral Duncan, who had long blocked up this armament in the Texel, having been obliged to retire into Yarmouth roads to refit, De Winter, the Dutch admiral, put to sea; but Duncan, apprised of the circumstance by his cruisers, immediately sailed for the coast of Holland with fourteen ships of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates, cutters, and luggers. He encountered the

11th. Dutch admiral between Camperdown and Egmont; and, after an obstinate contest, utterly defeated him, taking eight sail of the line, two ships of fifty-six guns, and two frigates. This brave action, in which undoubted boldness was no less conspicuous than consummate judgment, was fought so near the Dutch shore, that thousands of spectators witnessed its progress: De Winter and two vice-admirals were taken prisoners; and the victor received from his sovereign and country, besides the honorary meed of a peerage,

a peerage, those heartfelt thanks and warm acclamations which form the most grateful reward of loyalty and courage. The French government saw in this victory the overthrow of their projects for the invasion of England, or even of Ireland on the grand scale they had formerly meditated, although they still persevered in promulgating threats of such an attempt.

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During the struggles which agitated the capital of France, the difficulty of negotiating a peace with the emperor appeared daily to increase. The opinions of Carnot were favourable to the preliminaries of Leoben, but the majority of the directory were averse to the restoration of Mantua: they were eager only for war; and although Buonaparte declared his opinion that Pizzighitone would equally secure the safety of the Cisalpine republic, they would not on any terms consent to the restitution which had been agreed on. The seizure of Venice, it was hoped, would afford means of compensation to the emperor for the fortress which was withheld; but here again the ambition and avarice of the directory interfered, and they would not consent to abandon the possession of Venice. Buonaparte had fomented insurrections and revolutions in Italy, as well to gratify his own views and those of the directory, as to secure his flanks and rear in case he should be again compelled to advance. He was anxious to increase his strength; and the emperor was no less assiduous in similar preparations, in

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which he was warmly aided by the zeal of his people, who were convinced, by the extortion and oppression they endured, that every struggle was desirable in preference to the yoke of France. The armies of Hoche and Moreau had subsisted and clothed themselves at the expence of the people of Germany; and although the country was exhausted and the harvest not reaped, Hoche * levied in five months, according to his own accounts, thirteen millions of livres (568,750*l.*). The French even proceeded to depose the regencies and magistrates of the ecclesiastical electorates, to plant the tree of liberty at Coblentz and Cologne, and to proclaim a *Cisrhenane republic*, the constitution of which was founded on an oath to obey the laws and execute the orders of France, and not oppose the principles of liberty and equality. The directory not only protected this new-fangled republic, but were extremely anxious to declare war against the kings of Sardinia and Naples and the emperor, for the purpose of overthrowing all their thrones at once:

* Hoche, as has already been mentioned, was called to Paris to assist the schemes of the directory; but his precipitation and imprudence having occasioned his employers to disavow his proceedings, he retired, full of rage, to his army, where, in a few days, he died, and strong suspicions arose that he was poisoned. A desperate jacobin, who has written his life, does not blush to impute this crime to Pichegru; but if, in fact, the days of Hoche were abridged by such treachery, Pichegru is among the last of mankind to whom it could with appearance of probability be imputed.

but

but Buonaparte, who had other projects in view, was anxious to complete a temporary peace; a measure to which, after the 18th Fructidor, the directory themselves were obliged to accede, not only for the sake of popularity, but in order to retain a large body of troops in the interior. In consequence of these sentiments, amidst mutual threats, defiances, preparations, and even slight hostilities, the directory consented to yield, and the emperor to receive, Venice instead of Mantua.

This agreement formed the basis of a treaty, which was executed at Campo Formio. The public articles stipulated the cession of the Low-countries to France, and that the republicans should retain the islands in the Archipelago and in the Adriatic formerly belonging to Venice, and the establishments of that republic in Albania. The emperor was to possess the absolute sovereignty of the territories of Venice to the Adige; the Milanese and Mantuan were ceded to the Cisalpine republic, which was formally acknowledged; and an indemnity was to be granted to the duke of Modena in the Brisgaw. Finally, a congress was to be established at Rastadt, to settle a pacification between France and the empire. The secret articles were not given to the public till the interest of France seemed to require their disclosure. They contained numerous stipulations, highly favourable to the republic both in a territorial and revolutionary view; equally conducive to the establishment

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CHAP. of her overgrown power, and the extension of her
 XXIV. influence by the usual means of corruption and com-
 1797. motion in countries to which her ambition clearly
 pointed, although the state of the times had not yet
 permitted an open attack *.

Nothing now appeared to oppose the universal influence and unlimited aggrandisement of France, but the firmness and unyielding spirit of Great Britain. The rupture of the negotiation at Lisle furnished the directory with new opportunities of threatening and railing; they had already indirectly sanctioned a publication exciting the republic to invade the hated island, and stimulating the zeal of the military by promises of all the plunder they could secure. Heaps of gold in the bank, vast treasures in private hands, the goods in the shops and warehouses of tradesmen,

* See the historical publications; collections of state papers; *Histoire du Directoire Exécutif*; and *History of the Campaigns of 1796*, &c.—In consequence of the treaty of Campo Formio, La Fayette, Latour Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy, were restored to liberty. They returned to France, where their appearance excited scarcely a momentary sensation. La Fayette, the most conspicuous character, was regarded by the revolutionists with the contempt due to the littleness of his mind and talents, and the narrowness of his views; while men in all parts of the world, who knew how to appreciate loyalty and genuine honour, viewed him with the detestation due to an intriguing traitor, who had not scrupled, for the gratification of personal ambition and empirical speculation, to involve his sovereign in calamity, and his native land in all the horrors of revolution.

all were to reward the brave soldiers who should conquer and despoil the country. After the cessation of hostilities with the emperor, the directory persevered in these boastful menaces; an army was assembled on the coasts, and denominated, from the ostensible end of its destination, 5th Nov. THE ARMY OF ENGLAND. Buonaparte, who had repaired to Paris to concert further schemes and enjoy the effects of his popularity *, accepted the command of this force, which the directors strove to animate by a new proclamation, not less remarkable than their preceding productions for bombast and fiction. 21st. A pretext was made for a domiciliary visit and general plunder, in the supposed expectation of discovering British merchandises, the use of which was strictly, though vainly, prohibited; and a treaty of peace which had been negotiated with Portugal, the ancient and firm ally of Great Britain, was declared void. Yet, notwithstanding these efforts, public spirit languished; and a subscription proposed by a few merchants, and patronised with all the influence of government, for the benefit of this army, was so sparingly

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* He was received in great state by the members of both legislative bodies; a fête was given in honour of his victories; and he was appointed a member of the national institute, instead of Carnot, who, with the rest of the persons condemned on the 18th Fructidor, had been struck from the lists of that society, as civilly dead: but the evident jealousy and want of cordiality towards him which he easily discerned in the directors, are said to have offended and alarmed him.

filled,

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filled, that it soon became a subject of general contempt and ridicule. Attempts were made to inflame the rancour of the French against the British nation, by a scandalous and false report to the council of five hundred, that the prisoners of war suffered every species of privation and indignity: but the farce of an intended invasion was daily more and more discredited; and it was even asserted, that the pretext was used only to detain Buonaparte in France, for the purpose of overawing and controlling the legislature, and procuring for the directory a despotic sway*.

The directory were certainly anxious to perpetuate by military force an authority which by that engine they had rendered nearly arbitrary; but the detention of Buonaparte and his army in France was occasioned by other views, and tended to the accomplishment of projects of great magnitude, involving the fate of parts of the globe to which the ravages of war had not yet extended. In concluding a reluctant pacification with the emperor, the French government looked towards the renewal of hostilities, and prepared for the event by extending the influence of their revolution in such a manner as to prevent the combination of a formidable opposition. The anti-religious bigot Lareveillere had witnessed with regret the slight effort of moderation which induced Buonaparte, after plun-

* Such was the substance of an anonymous letter received by several members of the councils, which was published, and occasioned a considerable sensation.

dering the pope, to leave him still in possession of his nominal dignities, though deprived of the greater part of his possessions and revenues. The age, eloquence, immaculate character, and venerable appearance, of Pius VI. inspired universal regard and respect, even among those whose religious principles were most adverse to the pontifical establishment; but these very circumstances were motives for additional rancour in the mind of Lareveillere, who was destitute of all such claims to veneration in himself, and incapable of admiring them in another. The removal of Carnot and Barthelemy destroying all probability of opposition to his views in the directory, he anxiously sought a topic of dispute with the pontiff, in order to complete his deposition and the revolutionising of his dominions. The first essay was a requisition to his holiness to retract the censures pronounced against the attacks on the Catholic religion during the reign of the constituent assembly: but the pope answered that, his decisions being conformable to the constant discipline of the church, the canons of the councils, and the opinions of the holy fathers, not even the sight of the scaffold should induce him to retract. The firmness of this reply disconcerted Lareveillere, especially as his colleagues convinced him that it would be ridiculous to make war on no better pretence than a disagreement in opinion with an old priest.

Failing in this endeavour, the directory employed their allies, the Cisalpines, to irritate the pope into war,

CHAP. war, by invading his territories. The new republic,
 XXIV. to justify the measures they adopted in obedience to
 1797. these orders, resorted to events which occurred in
 the days of king Pepin, and claimed some parts of
 the marquisate of Ancona, which that prince had
 dismembered from the exarchate of Ravenna and
 given to Stephen III. On the basis of this most ab-
 surd and antiquated title, they entered the territory
 of the church; and, after an obstinate engagement
 with the people, seized the fort of St. Leon: but the
 pope, sensible of his weakness and danger, contented
 himself with sending an ambassador to Milan to make
 remonstrances.

Although twice disappointed, the French govern-
 ment determined to carry their point by their old
 means of exciting insurrections, and therefore deputed
 Joseph Buonaparte, elder brother of the general, as
 their ambassador to Rome. From the moment of his
 arrival, plots, insurrections, and incendiary placards,
 were daily produced; under his influence, all persons
 confined for treason and sedition, or, as he gently termed
 it, for political opinions, were liberated from prison;
 his palace became their constant rendezvous, and he
 appeared as the patron of a public fête, at which all
 the vagabonds and desperadoes in Rome were col-
 lected, called *The feast of Liberty*. These men, in-
 stigated by French emissaries, formed a plan for
 revolutionising Rome. They began their career
 by erecting poles surmounted with red caps and
 dancing

dancing round them at midnight, and by forming false CHAP. XXIV. patrols to elude the police and throw the city into confusion; and fixed on Innocents-day for the completion of their project. In the afternoon of that day, a large party assembled in the street called the Lungara, opposite the ambassador's residence *, where a Frenchman attended, delivering to them national cockades and six-paul pieces † to be expended in liquor. Their conversation, directed by prepared incendiaries, turned on the common topics of popular complaint, the distresses of the poor, and dearness of provisions; an abbé made a long harangue, interlarded and enforced by perverted texts from holy writ, to prove that the time was arrived for the overthrow of their existing government. Animated by these discourses, and secure, as they thought, of protection from the French ambassador, the mob sallied forth, seized two guard-houses, and attacked the Ponte Sesto. At this place, however, they were repulsed by the military, and pursued to the ambassador's hotel, the Corsini palace, whither they retired for shelter. Joseph Buonaparte and a few of his friends, hastening from their apartments, rushed among the mob with drawn swords: a great tumult and

* Every minister at Rome, as well as the cardinals and other privileged persons, had the right to a jurisdiction of a certain limited district in the vicinity of their own palaces, entirely independent of the control of government.

† Value 3s. sterling.

CHAP. some firing ensued, in which about a dozen persons
 XXIV. } lost their lives, among whom was general Duphot, a
 1797. } man highly esteemed by the ambassador, and on the
 point of being married to his sister. Immediately on
 this event, Joseph Buonaparte retired to his palace;
 and on the ensuing morning at six o'clock quitted
 Rome, obstinately deaf to all propositions of explana-
 tion or apology.

An exaggerated account of this transaction, forwarded to France by the ambassador, furnished the government with the pretext they had so long and ardently desired: in vain did the papal government offer every kind of acknowledgment and atonement; in vain did they tender implicit and unconditional submission*; orders were immediately issued for general Berthier, who commanded in Italy, to revolutionise Rome, and give up the country to pillage. The Cisalpines, being no longer necessary agents, were ordered to retire, and obliged to yield up their conquests, that they might not interfere with the projects of the French.

Pius VI. had found, from the beginning of the revolution, how little reliance could be placed on the

* A letter from cardinal Doria, the papal secretary of state, to the marquis Massini, the pope's minister at Paris, contains the following expressions: "You must not offer any satisfaction for this event, which has rendered the holy father, and all of us, inconsolable: but you must entreat the directory to point out what satisfaction they require; to ask it and to obtain it shall be the same thing."

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zeal or exertions of the neighbouring princes ; and therefore fought no defence but that of Heaven, which he fervently implored, according to the mode of that religion of which he was the head, by processions, the exposition of relics, and public prayers. The use of the two former expedients is undoubtedly open to some ridicule from those who do not concur in those forms of appeal to divine mercy ; but the integrity of the pontiff, and his implicit reliance on their efficacy, will entitle him to the respect of all candid men ; especially when it is considered that, far from using them as incentives to urge his subjects to expend their blood in an unavailing contest, he carefully repressed every exhibition of fervour which exceeded the bounds of religious enthusiasm *. A few days before the arrival of the French army, he deputed prince Belmonte, the Neapolitan minister, to learn from the commander in chief his precise intentions ; and Berthier seized the opportunity to make his conquest more easy and pro-

27th Jan.

to 4th Feb.

* Perhaps the pope anticipated that this would be his last great act of pontifical authority : the Romans had long entertained a prejudice that the state must be ruined when governed by a Sextus. On the proclamation of his holiness, by the title of Pius Sextus, the following distich was posted in the most conspicuous parts of the city, being only a slight variation of one which had been applied to the too celebrated Alexander VI.

Tarquinius Sextus, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iste :

In Sextis semper perdita Roma fuit.

fitable.

CHAP. fitable. The only design of the directory, he said,
 XXIV: } was to apprehend those who were accessory to the
 1798. } death of Duphot: the pope might rest assured of
 the utmost security; the existing government, the
 Catholic religion, and all property, public as well as
 private, should be respected, and he would not even
 enter the city. To impress greater confidence, he de-
 livered those declarations in writing, requiring, at
 the same time, that the pope should issue an edict to
 tranquillise the people and prevent bloodshed, and
 that nothing should be removed from the museums,
 the libraries, or the picture-galleries.

9th Feb. The commands of the republican general
 were observed with punctuality; but his
 promises were violated without scruple. The pope
 removed no part of his property, nor took any mea-
 sure for his personal safety; but published an edict
 exhorting all his people to tranquillity, and forbid-
 ding them even to talk on their affairs in such a
 manner as to give offence to the French. Berthier
 10th. advanced to the city by forced marches; sum-
 moned the castle of St. Angelo, allowing
 only four hours for its evacuation by the papal troops;
 the convicts were set at liberty; the gates of the city
 secured by the French; the pope, all the cardinals
 except three *, and the whole people of Rome, made
 prisoners at discretion. The French general issued a

* Namely, Braschi the pope's nephew, York, and Albani.

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perfidious proclamation, authorising the people to rely on his army for protection of their property and persons, and assuring them that their religion should be inviolably respected; but he detained prisoners in the palace of Monte Cavallo four cardinals, four princes, four prelates, and two bankers, as hostages for the quiet of the city, and for the payment of certain contributions necessary to relieve the distresses of his followers.

Shortly afterwards, Berthier made his triumphal entry into Rome; and a tree of liberty being planted on the capitol, he pronounced a puerile address to the shades of Cato, Pompey, Brutus, Cicero, and Hortensius, which concluded by assuring the Romans that they were about to resume their ancient grandeur and the virtues of their progenitors. As the means of acquiring these honourable distinctions, they were to be indulged with a modern Gallic reform: a proclamation was issued, declaring them a free and independent republic, under the special protection of the French army. A provisional government was acknowledged, as established by the sovereign people; and every other temporal authority emanating from the pope was suppressed, nor was he any longer to exercise any function. The French general Cervoni* was charged with the care of the police, the

15th.

* A deserter from the Sardinian army, advanced in the French service to the rank of general.

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safety of the city, and the instalment of the new government; and the territory of the Roman republic was declared to comprehend all that remained under the temporal authority of the pope after the treaty of Campo Formio*. The people were, however, so little elevated by the promises of regeneration and glory, that even Berthier's procession to the capitol was languidly attended, and few appearances of approbation or applause exhibited. To recruit the ranks of spectators, a French officer crossed the Tiber to collect a band of the inhabitants of that district called Trasteverini; but, although their pride and prejudices were strongly solicited, few attended, and none shouted but some desperate and criminal partisans who had been previously attached to the French interest. The tree of liberty, far from being regarded with rapture, was scarcely surveyed with moderate curiosity; and a compulsory illumination was performed in a manner so parsimonious and reluctant, that general discontent was exhibited under a form usually chosen to convey ideas of gaiety and exultation.

Popularity was, however, no otherwise desirable to the French than as it contributed to some end which they had in prospect: when their interest did not lead them to wish for it, the good opinion of the present age was no more regarded than the favourable

* The mention of this treaty in this place gave room for a suspicion that the emperor of Germany was not exempt from a collusive participation in the overthrow of the papal government.

judgment

judgment of posterity, which, in all their acts, they seemed almost expressly to renounce. Perhaps no greater instance can be adduced of deliberate barbarity and cruelty, rendered excessive by every species of wanton and unnecessary insult, than the circumstances which attended the deposition and subsequent treatment of Pius VI. It should be recollected, that at this period the unfortunate victim of philosophical barbarism was in the eighty-second year of his age, and that, during twenty-three years, he had exercised in a blameless manner the sovereignty which was confided to him; never staining the annals of his reign by edicts of bigotry or acts of persecution, but ruling his own subjects with mildness, and receiving strangers, without distinction of religion, with benevolent munificence and princely hospitality. As a refinement in the art of insult, the day selected for planting the tree of liberty and deposing the pontiff was the anniversary of his accession to the sovereignty; and while he was, according to custom, celebrating divine service in the Sistine chapel and receiving the congratulations of the cardinals, Haller, the commissary-general of the French army, and Cervoni, abruptly rushed in, and announced the termination of his authority. The pope had scarcely recovered from the shock of this intelligence, when Cervoni offered him a national cockade, which he rejected with dignity; and he heard with fortitude that his Swiss guards were dismissed, and republican soldiers placed in their stead. Pursuing the

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CHAP. the same style of mockery, the invaders compelled
 XXIV. the cardinals to perform a grand mass and Te Deum,
 1798. to thank God for events which they could not fail
 most severely to deplore; public preachers were em-
 ployed to reconcile the people to the change, and to
 argue from Scripture that, as disciples of reason and
 votaries of religion, they were bound to submit to
 whatever form of government it had pleased Pro-
 vidence to set over them.

While thus the French were disgracing every principle of humanity, reason, and religion, their decrepid victim persevered in a tranquil course of dignified suffering. He was required to publish an edict, ascertaining and confiscating the property of all foreigners at war with France, but nobly refused; and when, after his deposition, his treasurer was compelled to issue a decree to that effect, he began it by a declaration that it was made only in obedience to a superior power. The French having also asked of the pope an account of the treasury of Loretto, which had been removed before the peace of Tolentino, he replied by referring to their own commissaries and generals; who were not content with taking from him the treasures of that shrine, but even his own tiara, and contributions from all the nobility had been requisite to satisfy their demands.

Whether retained by force, deluded by promises, or rendered inert by age, the pope remained, after the abrogation of his authority, a prisoner in his own palace.

palace. The French first seized on it as barracks, and in less than a week confined him to his own rooms, putting the seal of confiscation on all his effects. Even the furniture of his apartments was at length contemplated with a greedy eye, and the unfortunate pontiff was removed from Rome to Sienna, where he was received with consolatory sympathy by the Augustine monks, and lodged in their convent*.

On taking possession of the gates of the city, the French displayed a thorough contempt of their promises to respect property, by entering the houses

* The remaining history of Pius VI. exhibits only a continuation of meanness and unprofitable cruelty in his persecutors. The executive directory, in their message to the councils announcing the late events (6th March), not only descanted on the supposed offences committed by Rome against France, but, in the favourite style of Lareveillere, declaimed against the pontifical throne, and recapitulated the crimes of numerous popes, which the unoffending Pius VI. was doomed to expiate. He was removed, according to the caprice or policy of his persecutors, at all hours in the night and day, to many cities in Italy, where he was exhibited in chains, and at length confined in a fortress at the top of the Alps, where, under the old French government, it was sometimes customary to send regiments by way of punishment. In the course of the ensuing year it was deemed necessary to remove him to Valence, where he terminated his days amid the horrors of neglect and insult. The directory forbade all marks of respect at his funeral; but Buonaparte, after his accession to supreme power, most whimsically raised a monument to the memory of him who owed all his misery to the perfidy of his brother and the brutality of his bosom friend Berthier.

CHAP. of all who held employments, extorting presents, and
 XXIV. putting seals on every thing they deemed proper for

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confiscation. The Vatican and Quirinal palaces were considered as mines of treasure; and after the departure of his holiness, the company of brokers who followed the army were permitted to purchase on their own terms whatever they chose, and the Jews resident in Rome were called in to bargain for the remainder. The most costly and valuable articles, the most beautiful paintings and incomparable tapestry, were thus disposed of at a base price, and the Vatican was entirely stripped, from the most precious furniture of the state chambers to the most trifling utensil in the kitchen; nothing escaped the rapacity of the republicans but the fresco pictures of Raffaele, which being painted on the walls could not easily be transferred upon canvas; and lest some secret chamber in this immense building should conceal treasures from their search, they broke through the partitions in several parts of each room. The palaces at Monte Cavallo, Terracina, and Castel Gondolfo, underwent the same fate; the sacerdotal vestments and shrine of the Sistine, Pauline, and other pontifical chapels, were burnt for the sake of the gold and silver contained in the embroidery; the Vatican library was plundered; and the pope's private collection of books sold to a bookseller for nine hundred pounds sterling.

The principal confiscations were the property of the pope, his two nephews prince and cardinal Braschi, the

the cardinals York and Albani, and prince Albani: but even if the French doctrine be admitted that the effects of these individuals were justly forfeited as having been illegally acquired from the people, it exceeds the art of sophistry to prove that the French had any right to claim the benefit of the confiscation. The property of other noblemen, who, by withdrawing, were considered as emigrants, shared the same fate; and nothing could excite more regret, or exhibit in a more detestable view the profligate Vandalism of an army attended by a corps of *savans*, than the destruction of the Villa Albani, a place which, for situation, elegance, erudition of antiquity, and exquisite works of art, was without a rival. The palace was nearly razed to the ground, and its villa rendered a scene of military desolation. Every statue, every bust, every column, every chimney-piece, every piece of marble that served for ornament or use, was torn from its situation, and either sent to Paris or made the perquisite of certain agents employed by the directory to see that there might be nothing wanting to the entire completion of its ruin: even the shrubs in the gardens were rooted up and sold.

Besides the plunder derived from these direct robberies, the French had recourse to their accustomed means of forced loans and contributions, for the raising of which the consuls appointed under the new government had an unlimited authority to tax the possessors of money. Private property was thus

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placed entirely at the mercy of the invaders, who compelled tradesmen and artists to part with every article of value in their possession, including not only their stock in trade and finished works, but even their knives, forks, spoons, and every thing which contained any portion of gold or silver. The agents of government enriched themselves by every kind of speculation; they even descended so low as to beg, under the pretence of praising them, valuable articles, which the owners were obliged to sacrifice with a good grace, from a conviction that the hand of power would otherwise wrest from them that which they had retained, and that they should at the same time be exposed to the implacable enmity of guilty meanness. The arts of extortion were finally practised to such barbarous excess, that gold and silver being exhausted, and the shopkeepers drained of all their stock, which was exported, the copper money was seized to complete the ballasting of ships, copper kitchen furniture was called in, a colossal bronze statue of pope Corini was melted to supply a base coin for circulation, and assignats were issued even so low as a penny sterling.

In all their proceedings the French shewed an unprincipled eagerness for plunder: a grand funeral was celebrated in honour of general Duphot; and while the people crowded to the piazza of St. Peter, which was chosen for the scene, parties of Frenchmen plundered every church in the city of
its

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its plate, not even excepting those belonging to Spain and the emperor. In a few days afterwards, Berthier was recalled to attend Buonaparte in a new expedition. The inferior officers had been nearly six months without pay, and foresaw that if the military chest, with all the plunder it contained, was removed, they would, in all probability, be never satisfied; they therefore assembled at the Pantheon, and peremptorily demanded that their pay should be issued in twenty-four hours. It seems that, if their request had been refused, they had a design of making common cause with the people of Rome, since they added a demand that the various effects "stolen under different pretences from houses and churches belonging to foreign powers with whom France was at peace should be replaced, and required vengeance for the rapine committed in Rome by dignified monsters and corrupt administrators of devastation, who were night and day plunged in luxury and debauchery." The next day they invited all persons who had been wronged to give an account at the Pantheon of what they had lost, in silver, household furniture, effects, jewels, and horses, with or without receipts, and what had been taken or extorted as contributions. This spirit might have produced the most dangerous effects; but the sums required by the officers being paid, their public spirit and love of justice instantly evaporated.

When this affair was settled, another cause of discontent arose in the appointment of Massena to the chief

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CHAP. chief command. Although distinguished for talent
 XXIV. and success, and although he had, according to his
 1798. own account, led the troops of France a hundred and
 eighty times to victory, this officer was, through the
 arts of intrigue and jealousy, rendered so unpopular,
 that, finding his presence occasioned disturbances, he
 was obliged, after two efforts, to withdraw. The
 divisions occasioned by these feuds, and probably
 some appeals from the contending parties, inspired the
 people of the country with hopes that a vigorous
 25th. effort might produce a counter-revolution,
 and free them from their oppressors. In
 pursuance of this indigested project, and without
 either council or leader, a few desperate men, Romans
 and Trasteverini, armed with knives, pistols, and
 missiles, attacked two or three guard-houses in the
 Trastevere, and obtaining some arms and ammunition,
 made themselves masters of the Ponte Sesto. Their
 success encouraged the partisans of the same cause in
 Rome, who from their windows shot some French
 soldiers in the streets. The French flew to arms, and
 drove the insurgents from every position; but several
 lives were lost by wounds inflicted in the dark, without
 a possibility of guessing who had dealt the blow. The
 number slain on both sides was computed at a hundred
 and fifty, or two hundred; but the fugitive insurgents
 spread through the neighbouring towns of Velletri,
 Castello, and Albano, a false report of a counter-revo-
 lution being effected at Rome, and every Frenchman
 put

put to death. These tidings caused the slaughter of the few French soldiers in these places ; but the army from Rome severely avenged their loss, by a general massacre, by sacking the towns, and plundering the habitations. Cattle, household furniture, implements of agriculture, and wearing apparel, all were brought to Rome, and publicly sold. The Trasteverini were forbidden, under pain of immediate death, to retain in their possession any fire-arms, swords, or cutting weapons ; and death and confiscation of property were denounced as the punishment of all who should attempt by words, printing, writing, secret meetings, or false notices, to stir up the minds of citizens to recal the ancient tyranny *, or to revolt by word or deed against the republic or its government ; and all persons knowing of such treasons and not denouncing them were to be punished equally with the principals.

Berthier's promises respecting life and property were thus shewn to be absolutely false ; nor had the people

* It is impossible to read this ferocious law, subjecting all men to military execution on slight information, without observing that, under the papal government, called, in this bloody edict, *the ancient tyranny*, there had scarcely been, during the whole pontificate of Pius VI., a single execution. This extreme mildness is not in itself laudable ; but, with all its probable faults, the people, who saw their streets strewed with carcases and their lives endangered by the utterance of a word, must have regretted the blessings of that lenient system, and deplored the revolution which enabled their murderers to term it a tyranny.

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of Rome greater cause to rejoice in the sacredness of his word on the subjects of religion and manners. Immediately on the change of government, the Christian era was discontinued, and Sunday abolished; a convent similar to the Magdalen-hospital in London, called the *Convertite*, was dissolved, and the house made a prison for six cardinals. The English, Scotch, and Irish establishments were next suppressed; and at length by a proclamation from St Cyr, who, instead of Massena, succeeded Berthier, the remaining monasteries, in number thirty-four, were dissolved, their incomes appropriated to the use of government, and the inhabitants released from their vows. A magnificent institution, called the *De Propaganda Fide*, founded by Gregory XV. for the purpose of cultivating languages, in order to educate students from all nations in the Christian religion, was also suppressed and plundered; its printing-presses being sent into France, and the professors, students, and printers, compelled to attend Buonaparte in a projected expedition.

In all these acts, the bitterness of inhuman insult was no less discernible than the eager desire of plunder, and the persecution and ferocity of anti-religious bigotry. The lodging of cardinals in a house destined to the reception of penitent prostitutes afforded one of these instances; and another was that of compelling princes and nobles to serve as privates, in corps commanded

commanded by the lowest and basest of their late dependents *. Such triumphs over fallen greatness are truly characteristic of minds obdurate in guilt, elevated by fortune, and incapable of virtue.

As some compensation to the people for the loss of liberty, religion, and property, the French conferred on them a federation, a constitution, and a Jacobin club. The first was a mixture of ^{20th March.} ostentation, profaneness, and pedantry: the constitution, a mere repetition of that absurd abstract of the inefficient code of France, which had been given to the people of Venice: and the club, established in the palace of the duke of Altemps, shewed such a rapid proficiency in the principles of its great parent at Paris, that sons began to talk of denouncing their parents; noyades were recommended, and general resolutions passed against all members of the priesthood; and it was even proposed that all persons aged above sixty should be put to death, as incapable, through the obstinacy of old age, of renouncing their ancient prejudices. Thus, in less than three months after the French had poured an army into Rome, to revenge the death of a single man, slain in an insurrection excited, in contempt of the law of nations, by their own ambassador, was that ancient and famous city despoiled

* Prince Colonna, the duke di Montelibretto, and several other noblemen, were obliged to serve as common soldiers in a corps of which the captain was a man who sold tripe and dogs' meat in the streets. Personal service was afterwards commuted for a fine.

CHAP. of all its remaining wealth, of almost all the moveable
 XXIV. treasures of art, of its elected prince, of its nobility,
 1798. of religion, morals, respectability, and prosperity.
 On every side ruin and desolation met the eye; in every countenance might be read the dejection of degraded worth, or the ferocity of upstart insolence; no trace of national spirit could be found; dress, manners, institutions, society, all were formed in abject complaisance to the will of the ferocious invaders; while industry languished, crimes abounded, and public credit was irretrievably ruined.

Before the new constitution was put in complete activity, the French army with their plunder had quitted Rome. The directory made an effort to punish those officers who had revolted against Berthier and Massena: but the experiment was found too dangerous; and, after a momentary confinement in the castle of St. Angelo, they were set at liberty, in compliance with the clamorous solicitations of the troops. A punishment was, however, devised for them, by ordering them to join in an expedition to be conducted by Buonaparte: and the city of Rome was garrisoned by Poles in the French service*.

The atrocity of the conduct of the French at Rome was not at the moment so clearly explained as to meet on all hands with merited reprobation. Many men

* Chiefly from Duppa's Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government; but occasionally from the *Histoire du Directoire Executif*, and the *History of the Campaigns in 1796*.

were found sufficiently base to vindicate almost all acts, if crowned with success; and the death of Duphot, while Frenchmen alone narrated the event, was considered as a provocation, if not a justification. The downfall of the papal government, by whatever means effected, excited perhaps less sympathy than that of any other in Europe: the errors, the oppressions, the tyranny of Rome over the whole Christian world, were remembered with bitterness; many rejoiced, through religious antipathy, in the overthrow of a church which they considered as idolatrous, though attended with the immediate triumph of infidelity; and many saw in these events the accomplishment of prophecies, and the exhibition of signs promised in the most mystical parts of the Holy Scriptures. But the French were, at the same time, engaged in a contest so manifestly iniquitous, and so devoid of any reasonable pretext, that the sophistry of their defenders was silenced, and general horror and indignation aroused.

From the earliest periods of the French revolution, the project of altering the government of Switzerland had been a favourite with the party which employed, or was directed by, Brissot. The ancient alliance of the cantons with France, the constant employment of their best troops in the service of that nation, their hatred towards the houses of Austria and Savoy, the neutrality observed during the most critical periods of the war, the forbearance which followed the massacre

of

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CHAP. of their troops in August, 1792, and treaties solemnly
 XXIV. made and repeatedly ratified, were considerations in-
 1797. sufficient to procure from France a regard to the laws
 of justice, when opposed by the claims of convenience
 or the demands of ambition. Honour, and a sense
 of the advantages derived from an alliance with
 the cantons, had prevented the kings of France from
 entertaining views of hostility; but the republicans,
 from the beginning of their triumph in Paris, had
 used every exertion to give activity to their disor-
 ganising doctrines among the peaceable, industrious,
 and inoffensive people of Helvetia. While fear of in-
 creasing the number of her enemies rendered prudence
 necessary, France observed a temporising conduct;
 but even in this interval the agents of that destructive
 government had never intermitted the task of in-
 flaming public discontent, by descanting on the im-
 perfections in the various governments of the can-
 tons, and extolling a system founded on general re-
 presentation, universal suffrage, and the rights of
 man. These doctrines were not without proselytes;
 and the present state of Europe, leaving France with-
 out a continental enemy and Switzerland without an
 ally, while a passage into her territory was opened by
 the establishment of the Cisalpine republic and the
 dismemberment of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and
 Bormio, from the Grisons, appeared to offer a favour-
 able moment for executing the ambitious project in-
 herited from Brissot. "The system of the directory,"

Carnot

Carnot says, “ was evidently to found the power of the nation less on the aggrandisement of the republic than the weakness and destruction of its neighbours; to fight them one against the other; to treat them as friends so long as they had occasion; to paralyse them, by exhausting all the succours they could yield; and when the time was come for crushing them, to employ their fertile genius in inventing sufficient pretexts to practise the fable of the wolf and the lamb *.” In executing this scheme, they purposed to divide the members of the Helvetic confederacy, by fomenting commotions, and, by occupying the attention of the respective states, to prevent their resisting in one firm, compact, and united body; and then to turn their whole force against the canton of Bern, on the conquest or submission of which depended the reduction of all Switzerland.

The first open attack on the internal independence of this country was made in 1796, when the dismissal of Mallet du Pan and the French emigrants was demanded; and the Swiss, in a moment of fatal imbecility, complied, notwithstanding the humane and spirited remonstrances of Mr. Wickham, the British minister. In the ensuing year, the directory pursued their triumph by requiring the dismissal of Mr. Wickham himself; pretending that his sole object was to excite plots against the internal and ex-

* Answer to Bailleul, p. 93, English translation.

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ternal security of the French republic. The British minister avoided the disgrace of expulsion by a voluntary retreat; and thus Switzerland was left to her fate. In order to perfect the scheme of exciting discontent, the French suppressed their legation, of which Barthelemy was formerly the head, and the appointment of ambassador; employing in their stead special agents to each of the most important cantons; under whose direction popular clubs, literary societies, inflammatory publications, and all the apparatus of sedition, were put in action: threats were denounced against the magistrates, and formal protections issued, rendering them personally responsible for the safety of those who manifested revolutionary principles.

No disposition to resistance having been manifested in consequence of the former acts of hostile arrogance, Mengaud, the French resident at Basle, in a few days after Mr. Wickham's departure, delivered three notifications to the Helvetic body. The first required the pardon and recal of all persons who had been banished for revolutionary acts or principles; the second, the instant expulsion of all emigrants, priests, and individuals condemned to deportation, and the exclusion of all state criminals, of all members of the legislative body, and other Frenchmen proscribed on the 18th Fructidor; the third required all Swiss officers who had, for their services in the French army, been made chevaliers of St. Louis or of Merit, to desist from wearing

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wearing the decorations or emblems of those orders: this command alone was complied with, the other two being evaded. The time was, however, arrived, when the directory considered it no longer necessary to use delicacy, or seek for specious pretences in justification of their proceedings; they addressed a message to Talleyrand *, the minister for foreign affairs, requiring him to report, without delay, on a petition from the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud, requesting, in compliance with ancient treaties, the guaranty of the French republic to the re-establishment of their rights. The report was instantly presented; and on the following day the directory ordered a declaration to be made to the governments of Bern and Friburg, that they should be personally responsible for the safety and property of all inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud who applied to France for mediation, or the maintenance or resumption of their ancient rights.

The directory also recommended, or rather prescribed, to each of the Swiss states, the abolition of their governments, and the establishment of a provisional regency, until a constitution should be framed on the basis of universal suffrage and general eligibility. The partisans of this scheme considered their triumph certain; and Ochs, grand tribune and envoy from Basle, being secure of protection, wrote a de-

* This message was sent the 27th of December, 1797, about the time when the pope was deposed at Rome.

clamatory

CHAP. clamatory letter, full of revolutionary jargon, urging
 XXIV. the governors of that canton to declare by a formal
 1797. decree the emancipation of their subjects, the convo-
 cation of primary assemblies, and the establishment of
 provisional committees. To enforce these claims, the
 French had put in motion fifteen thousand men, under
 the command of general Menard, who advanced on
 the side of Basle and Geneva; a column threatened
 the town of Bienne, and two thousand men from the
 Cisalpine republic attacked the canton of Uri. En-
 couraged by the approach of these troops, the bor-
 derers of the lake of Zurich manifested their desire for
 a revolution; and the tree of liberty was planted, and
 green cockades assumed as revolutionary badges, in
 the Pays de Vaud. In this emergency, the spirit of
 1798. Switzerland seemed for a moment to rouse:
 2d Jan. federal deputies were sent to consult at Bern;
 a general diet was assembled at Arau; and all
 the states except Basle renewed the solemn
 25th. oath of confederacy. But at the very moment
 of making this appeal to Heaven, the confederacy was
 virtually dissolved: Basle had separated from the
 other states; Schaffhausen adopted a revolutionary go-
 vernment; Zurich and the other aristocratical cantons
 were preparing to admit the new constitution pre-
 scribed by France; the double contingent voted at
 the diet of Arau did not exceed six thousand men;
 and Bern, on which the salvation of Switzerland de-
 pended,

pended, being exposed to invasion, was timid and irresolute.

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Having thus divided the confederate states, the French pursued their plan of aggression by seizing the Erguel and the town of Bienne, under pretence of succeeding to the rights of the bishop of Basle, whose territory they had usurped. Their project of detaching the Pays de Vaud from Bern, and erecting it into a republic under their auspices, was defended by La Harpe, in a pamphlet which afterwards formed the basis of a message from the directory to the councils *, and deduced their right of separation from events which occurred about the end of the fifteenth century. The castle of Chillon was seized; and the government of Bern, instead of exercising ^{10th Jan.} all their powers of resistance, lost time in examining ancient records for documents to refute the flimsy statements of La Harpe. At length, however, they entrusted to colonel Weifs a force of three thousand men, with authority to quell insurrection and proclaim martial law; but this commander having been formerly a warm partisan of the French revolution, though now fully apprised of the danger of fraternity with that country, preferred conciliatory measures and attempts at negotiation to strenuous action, and instead of exerting his force wrote a declamatory pamphlet, entitled *Reveillez-vous, Suisses!* His feeble

* On the 6th of February.

CHAP. exertions were rendered still more ineffectual by the
 XXIV. temporising conduct of the government of Bern, and
 1798. the ill-timed remonstrances of the diet of Arau against
 the proclamation of martial law.

While the friends of government were thus intimidated, the insurgents formed a provisional assembly at Laufanne, declared themselves independent, and requested assistance from Menard, who immediately dispatched his adjutant-general with a summons to

Weiss, ordering him to evacuate the district.

25th. The adjutant, accompanied by two French hussars and two native dragoons, passing through the village of Thierens at midnight and without a trumpet, were challenged by the Swiss patrols, and, instead of answering, commenced an affray, in the course of which the sentinels were wounded, and one of the French hussars killed. This event, like the death of Duphot, was converted into an unpardonable aggression: the canton of Bern vainly protested and offered satisfaction; the French would not listen to terms, but, inundating the Pays de Vaud with troops, declared it an independent republic under their protection. Amid fluctuating counsels, and gloomy intervals of dejection and despondency, illuminated only by transitory flashes of courage and public spirit, the government of Bern saw their legal authority slipping from their grasp. The avoyer Steiguer, general d'Erlach, and a few exalted patriots, exhorted them ineffectually to take measures of greater vigour
 and

and more energetic decision ; they hoped to conciliate France by partially adopting the plans of reform suggested by the directory ; and the sovereign council weakened the ancient fabric of their venerable constitution, by convening fifty delegates to give advice in the present emergency and assist in new-modelling the government. These new assistants appointed a committee to frame within a year improvements in the constitution conformable to the spirit of the times ; but the people received the decree with indifference, the revolutionists were not satisfied, and government lost all respect by being considered only as a provisional committee. Bern soon afterwards relinquished its claims on the Pays de Vaud, and made overtures of conciliation to the directory and to Mengaud ; but a peremptory message informed them that the proceedings of France had no other object than to overthrow a vicious and corrupt government, and substitute one more conformable to those of the Cisalpine and French republics, such a measure being necessary to their safety and tranquillity ; and required the establishment of a provisional council, from which all the old magistrates should be excluded. The government dispatched a mission to general Brune, who had succeeded Menard in commanding the French forces, deprecating the interference of a foreign power, and soliciting permission to make only a partial reform ; and the general, expecting either instructions or re-

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CHAP. inforcements, consented to an armistice of fourteen
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In this awful interval, great struggles were maintained by the two parties in Bern : a proposition for a temporary dictatorship to be exercised by the avoyer Steiguer and four others, which alone could save the country, was rejected ; but as the close of the armistice approached and the designs of France were better understood, a greater portion of public spirit was manifested, the representations of Steiguer and general Erlach were attended with greater effect, twenty thousand militia were inrolled, and religious ardour blended itself with the feelings of patriotism. Great numbers who deserted from the Pays de Vaud were incorporated in a regiment called the Faithful Legion ; the forces of Soleure and Friburg ranged themselves under the standard of Bern ; and the command was entrusted to general Erlach, lord of Hindelbank and member of the sovereign council, a veteran distinguished for skill and courage, and who had attained a high rank in the service of the king of France. Accompanied by eighty officers, he repaired to the sovereign council, and, by his animated remonstrances, procured unlimited powers, which he prepared to use for the benefit of his country. The combined forces under his command amounted to twenty thousand, judiciously posted, well acquainted with the country, and eager to defend it. They were opposed by forty thousand French ; but the state of
their

their feelings, and the nature of their cause, precluded from their minds every doubt respecting the ultimate event. Erlach had made masterly dispositions for an attack, and the whole country was ready to rise in his favour on the first appearance of success, when, to his infinite mortification and astonishment, orders arrived from Bern revoking his full powers, and commanding him to suspend hostilities, as a negotiation was opened with general Brune. This fatal tergiversation was owing to the fears of the temporising party and the intrigues of the French faction, who seized the moment of Erlach's departure to renew their machinations. Brune sent an adjutant announcing the receipt of full instructions ^{27th.} from Paris, and requiring the government to send deputies to adjust an immediate accommodation: his request was complied with, and his ultimatum was communicated to the council. He demanded the abdication of the magistrates, the establishment of a provisional regency, the formation of a new constitution on the basis of liberty and equality, and the release of all persons arrested for political opinions; the troops of Bern and the contingents were to be dismissed; and on the fulfilment of these conditions the French army would quit the territory of Switzerland, and never re-enter it, *unless summoned by the new government.* After communicating these proposals, Brune and Mengaud insulted the government with which they pretended to treat, and strove to excite disaffection

CHAP. affection among the people by proclamations of the
 XXIV. most insidious tendency; but although the terms of
 1798. the ultimatum spread indignation among all ranks, and the clamour of the people extorted from the council an order for general Erlach to execute his plan of attack, the party of traitors had sufficient influence to procure the adoption of conciliatory expedients, and even a partial accession to the proposals of Brune. But these proffers, which demonstrated weakness, could not satisfy the ambition of France; the general, refusing to treat on any terms short of absolute submission, threatened to visit the government at Bern with some hussars and chasseurs, and sought to animate his troops and dispirit and divide the people by a new proclamation, full of invectives against the magistracy of the canton and the government of Great Britain.

Brune did not venture on these measures till assured by his agents that the military force collected against him was rather nominally than really formidable. During Erlach's late journey to Bern, the friends of France had excited insubordination and jealousy among the troops, by asserting that the government and their officers were in a compact to betray them; a charge utterly false, but to which the preceding and subsequent conduct of their rulers gave great appearance of probability. Erlach had, with difficulty, succeeded in composing these tumults, and animated his troops by announcing his renewed powers to execute his
 original,

original plan of attack, when the feeble government of Bern countermanded the order, and opened a new conference with Brune. The soldiers, many of whom had actually marched to the attack, burnt with indignation; they considered the reports propagated by the French as undeniably proved; great numbers quitted their standards; and Erlach, obliged to act on the defensive, awaited with solicitude the event of the negotiations. Even the account of that event, through negligence or treachery, was withheld; and when Brune, after rejecting the ultimatum of the council, advanced to the gates of Friburg, and surpris'd the important posts of Lengnau and Grange, the generals were without concert, the officers knew not whom to obey, and Erlach only learned the renewal of hostilities by the defeat of his right and left wings.

These events were produced by extraordinary circumstances. General Graffenreid, ^{1st March.} who commanded the right of the Swiss stationed at Buren, expecting to be attacked on the expiration of the armistice, made dispositions for defence; when an estafette arrived from the French general Schawembourg, with information that plenipotentiaries from the cantons of Bern, Soleure, and Friburg, were arranging an accommodation with general Brune. Graffenreid, believing the intelligence, ordered his subordinate officers at Lengnau and Grange to abstain from hostilities; but a council of officers at the latter place, suspecting deceit, considered it most prudent, even

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even if negotiations were renewed, not to place implicit confidence in French faith, but to remain under arms.

While they were debating on this subject, a French officer taken near the advanced posts was brought in, and declared that general Schawembourg had dispatched him to the post of St. Joseph, to prevent an attack which the French commander in that quarter was instructed to make at break of day; negotiations having been renewed with the three cantons, and an armistice concluded. The Swiss generals, duped by these accounts, ordered their troops, who were fatigued

2d. with eight days' incessant duty, into their cantonments; and between three and four o'clock

in the morning the French attacked their whole line from Dornec to Friburg, carried the post of Lengnau by surprise, and marched rapidly towards Grange. At this place, however, general Gibelin, who had been roused by the roar of the cannon at Lengnau, made, with twelve hundred men, an obstinate resistance against several thousands; but, after a conflict of six hours, was obliged to retreat, leaving the French at liberty to advance to Soleure.

Schawembourg summoned this town in terms of uncommon insolence and ferocity, threatening, if the smallest resistance was made, to strike off the heads of all the members of government, and, unless the town surrendered in half an hour, to reduce it to ashes, and put the garrison to the sword. While the magistrates hesitated on this barbarian summons, two pretended couriers,

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couriers, disguised in the livery of Bern, galloped to the gates, and being admitted, publicly proclaimed that Bern had surrendered to Brune: the alarm became general; twelve hundred men, who were preparing to join Gibelin, dispersed; the French faction gained the ascendancy; and Soleure capitulated*. On receiving intelligence of these events, Erlach concentrated his forces and hastened towards the capital; but every passion and every prejudice contributed to the destruction of subordination, and rendered his followers furious. Printed papers were profusely

* On the ensuing day, the French demolished the famous ossuary of Morat, and the directory thought the event of sufficient importance to be communicated to the council of five hundred. "In the evening," they said, "the Bernese evacuated Morat, a town famous for the battle gained over the Burgundians in 1476, and for the manner in which the bones of the vanquished were preserved. A trophy so insulting to the French nation could not fail to be destroyed; and, what is very remarkable, it was destroyed by the battalion of the Cote d'Or, on the very day which was the anniversary of the battle of Morat. A tree of liberty was immediately planted in the place of this monument, which the oligarchies pointed out beforehand as destined to become a second time the tomb of the French." Message from the executive directory to the council of five hundred, March 13th. But this coincidence of circumstances was fabricated for the event, as the battle of Morat was not on the 3d of March, but on the 22d of June. According also to the French accounts, the colours taken from the duke of Burgundy, at the battles of Morat and Vancy, were found in the arsenal of Soleure, and sent to Paris.

distributed,

CHAP. distributed *, accusing the officers of treachery ; and
 XXIV. the troops, agitated with alarm and enraged at the
 1798. unprecedented circumstance of retiring in their own
 territory before a foreign enemy, committed all the
 excesses to which extravagant suspicion and hasty
 repentance gave birth. They mutinied, wounded
 and threatened to massacre their commanders, de-
 manded new leaders, broke their officers and re-elected
 them, murdered two colonels, Stettler and Ryhiner,
 and then, struck with remorse, returned to their duty.
 The militia, and large bodies of peasantry whom the
 condition of their country had caused to assemble,
 refused to act with a body so disorganised ; and Erlach,
 supported only by the left wing, who maintained a
 state of fullen obedience, occupied the strong posts of
 Neunec, Laupen, and Gummenen.

In the midst of these dreadful events, the
 3d. French party gained a total ascendancy at
 Bern ; the populace tumultuously seized the arsenal,
 abolished the government, and established a new pro-
 visional regency, excluding those persons to whom
 Brune had previously objected. These changes were
 notified to the French general, and the new govern-
 ment offered to disband their army, provided he

* Danican asserts that the French agents, taking the advantage
 of a high wind, threw many of these papers from the top of a
 steeple into the Bernese camp ; Cassandre, p. 87 : and Mallet du
 Pan declares, that above two thousand Bernese soldiers received
 similar notes, stating the perfidy of general Erlach.

would

would quit the posts he had occupied ; but Brune rejected the proposition, and required the admission of a French garrison into Bern. This demand was too insulting even for the new government, nor had they sufficient audacity to brave the fury of the people by surrendering the capital to the French commanders, whose perfidy they could no longer affect to mistake ; they therefore issued orders for a general attack. At the close of this fatal day, the venerable avoyer Steiguer solemnly deposed the insignia of his office, and, accompanied by his brother and family, hastened to Frauenbrunnen, where he joined general Erlach.

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Before this vigorous order was issued, the public spirit, which alone could have given due effect to its execution, had been trifled away. The army of Bern was reduced to fourteen thousand men, in a state of insubordination, weakness, and irritation against their officers, while the contingents still stood aloof. Erlach, though apprised of the difficulties and danger of his situation, prepared with this incompetent force to assail forty thousand Frenchmen ; and although he anticipated certain death or dishonour, never lost his presence of mind, but made the most skilful dispositions, and performed the duties both of general and soldier.

At one in the morning, general Rampon attacked Laupen, Neunec, and Gummenen, ^{4th.} where, after a long contest, he was repulsed ; and general Graffenrcid, having driven him with great loss

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loss beyond the valley of Neunec, was rapidly advancing to Friburg, when his career was arrested by a command to suspend hostilities, as Bern was in possession of the invaders. The capture of the capital was preceded by a total defeat of the main army under Erlach, who, with only seven thousand men, withstood the repeated assaults of Schawembourg at the head of eighteen thousand. The avoyer Steiguer fought in the ranks, and, by his exhortations and example, animated the troops to deeds of valour worthy their ancestors. The post of Fruenbennen being forced, and Erlach, after being defeated in four desperate engagements by superior numbers, having been a fifth time vanquished under the walls of Bern, the French entered the city, and planted the fatal emblem of their atrocities, miscalled the tree of liberty. The fury of the populace in Bern was restrained by the presence of an armed force; but the broken remains of the retreating army committed the most horrid excesses, assassinated several officers, and the two adjutant-generals Kroufaz and Gumoens.

Through these frantic hordes of disbanded soldiery Steiguer and Erlach were hastening towards the mountains of Hasli and Oberland, where the borders of the lake of Thun offered an impregnable retreat, and whither had been conveyed large quantities of arms and ammunition, thirty pieces of artillery, and a considerable treasure. The venerable avoyer, in disguise and led by a peasant, passed unknown through crowds

of

of his enraged countrymen, and along roads infested with the light troops of the enemy, and reached the lake of Thun after a walk of five leagues: reposing himself for a short time on the trunk of a tree, he crossed mount Bruniz into the canton of Underwalden, and found a refuge at Bregentz, in the Austrian territories*.

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Erlach, after miraculously escaping from the repeated assaults of the enemy, was hastening towards the mountains of Oberland, undaunted by defeat, and inspired with hopes of collecting his shattered forces to make another effort. Recognised by some straggling soldiers near Mufingen, upon the high road between Bern and Thun, he was seized, bound, and placed in a cart, with an intention of conveying him to the capital; but another desperate band assaulted him, and, amidst reproaches and execrations, massacred him with their bayonets and hatchets.

The French generals acknowledge that the Swifs fought with unparalleled bravery, and that the subjection of Bern was the consequence of a most bloody contest, in which the militia, levied in a mass and without experience, gave the strongest proofs of courage and despair. "Many of those brave people," said the French officer who delivered the Swifs standards to the directory, "without any arms but

* This venerable and intrepid patriot did not long survive the fall of his country; he died at Augsburg, in December, 1799, aged 70.

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scythes and clubs, placing themselves at the mouths of the cannon, were moved down with grape-shot, and rejected the quarter which was offered them from humanity." One glorious effort of magnanimity surpasses the memorable sacrifice of the Spartans at Thermopylæ. Eight hundred youths devoted themselves to death: overpowered by numbers, they refused quarter; seven, who escaped the first carnage, disdained to survive their brothers in arms, and, rushing into the ranks of their enemy, perished under the ruins of their country. In these bloody conflicts, not only the men displayed unparalleled bravery, but even women rushed into the heat of the battle, threw themselves on the cannon of the enemy, and clung to the wheels to prevent them from advancing.

Although the directory had declared war against Bern alone, yet, when they had consummated the conquest of that canton, and plundered it with their usual rapacity, their army proceeded to reduce the whole of Switzerland, under pretence of offering to the people a constitution founded on the Parisian model. Basle had previously separated from the ancient confederacy; Zurich, Soleure, Friburg, and Schaffhausen, accepted the proffered code; and Lucerne, after some slight opposition, was compelled to submit. Five of the little cantons alone maintained a momentary struggle, and compelled Schawembourg to conclude a treaty, by which he engaged not to interfere with their government. The example of
freedom

freedom maintained by military force against their invasion was, however, too dangerous to be endured by France; the general, without scruple, violated his compact, and insisted that all the cantons should take the civic oath. Uri, Zug, and Glarus, complied; but Schwitz and Unterwalden sent deputies who appealed to the treaty. Schawembourg received them with insult and indignity, and returned the following answer: "You, as well as the other cantons, must take the oath; and you must further give up to us, alive or dead, nine of your principal leaders, and among them three of your clergy. Many hundreds more shall share the same fate. The consequences of your obstinacy shall be held out as an example to the whole world." Intimidated by this threat, Schwitz and the upper district of Unterwalden complied with the injunction: but the message of the Swiss directory having been read to a general assembly of the lower district, excited indignation and horror; and they unanimously resolved to be buried in the ruins of their country rather than surrender their fellow-citizens in so dishonourable a manner. About fifteen hundred took up arms, and, without the smallest hope of foreign assistance, prepared to resist the whole force of the French, and to die rather than survive their expiring liberty. Having intrenched themselves on the borders of the lake and at the entrance of the valley of Stantz, with their women and children, they firmly

CHAP. firmly awaited the attack. The French advanced to
 XXIV. the assault in separate columns; some crossing the lake
 1793. in armed vessels, and others marching over the
 mountains.

3d Sept. On the 3d of September, hostilities com-
 menced; the invaders were repulsed in different
 onsets, and two vessels being sunk, with five
 9th. hundred men, the French were intimidated,
 and refused to proceed, until a party, encouraged by
 the promises and urged by the threats of Schawem-
 bourg, disembarked, and forced the intrenchments.
 At the same time two other columns landed at
 different points, and the corps, rushing from the
 mountains, fell upon their rear. The small but
 heroic band, shut up in a narrow defile, and surrounded
 by a force ten times their number, sustained the assault
 with unparalleled courage. "Then began," says an
 eye-witness of this desperate conflict, "the battle and
 the carnage. Our rustic heroes fire on every side,
 fight foot to foot, rush among the enemy's ranks,
 slay and are slain. These mountaineers were seen
 pressing French officers to death in their nervous
 arms; old men, women, and children, roused by the
 noble example, and catching the enthusiasm of their
 sons, husbands, and fathers, appeared throwing them-
 selves into the midst of the French battalions, arming
 themselves with clubs, pikes, pieces of muskets, nay,
 the very limbs of the human body, strewing the
 ground

ground with carcafes, and falling with the fatisfaction of having fought to maintain their native land free from a foreign yoke.”

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The French, exasperated with this incredible refiftance, put to the fword not only their opponents on the field of battle, but involved all whom they met in indiscriminate flauhter, and the valley from one end to the other became a prey to pillage, flames, and carnage. Two hundred natives of Schweitz, hearing the cannonade, were afhamed of having deferted their brethren; and haftily arming themfelves, forced the poft which the French had eftablifhed at Brunnen, and towards the end of the day approaching Stantz, faw the conflagration which fhewed the fatal event of the action. They devoted themfelves to revenge the fate of their countrymen, and, after exterminating above fix hundred of their enemies, fell on the field of battle.

This was the laft conflict of expiring liberty in Switzerland; and, if report may be believed, even the ferocious monfters who compofed the executive directory did not receive the account of the ills they had occafioned, without fhedding tears of remorse. A treaty was concluded between the two countries, in virtue of which, Geneva, Mulhaufen, Bienne, and the bifhopric of Bafle, were annexed to France; the remainder of the country, except the Grifons, was modelled into a republic one and indivifible, forming eighteen departments. The French gained, befides,

CHAP. many advantages, particularly that of a military and
 XXIV. commercial road through the country into the south
 1798. of Germany.

Such was the conflict in which France succeeded in defiance of every principle of honour, humanity, and justice, and in shameful violation of that principle of liberty for which deluded Frenchmen were taught to believe that their own blood was poured out. The degraded councils received with applause the boastful rhodomontades of the directory, decreed that their disgraced army had deserved well of the country, and displayed among their military trophies the standards wrested from the brave defenders of their native freedom. "O impious war!" Carnot exclaims, "in which the directory seem to have had no other object than to know how many victims they could sacrifice to their caprice, from among the free, the poor, and the most virtuous part of mankind; to assassinate liberty in her native soil, and to punish the mountains of Helvetia for having given her birth. Worthy rivals of Grifler, the triumvirs were determined to exterminate the race of William Tell, and by them was the tyrant to be avenged. The heads of the democratic families were offered up to his manes; they died defending the frontiers of their little territory, and resisting the violation of their own homes. Their affrighted flocks fled to the deserts; the glaciers resounded with the cries of orphans perishing with hunger; and the sources of the Rhine, the Rhone, and

and the Adda, bore the tears of difconfolate and
 defpairing widows to the moft diftant feas! *”

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* In this narrative I have confulted the histories, and *Histoire de la Deftruction des Republiques democratiques de Schwitz, Uri, et Underwalden*, par Henri Zschokke; but I have principally followed, and not unfrequently borrowed the very words of, Mr. Coxe, in his introduction and notes to the fourth edition of his valuable *Travels in Switzerland*. He has derived his information on the events here related from the official documents published by the French government; *Bulletin Helvetique* for 1798, published at Laufanne; Leonard Meifter ueber den gang der politifchen Bewegungen in der Schweiz; Poffett's *Neuefte Weltkunde* for 1798; and *Gefchichte der Helvetifchen Revolution*, in his *Europaische Annalen* for 1798, 1st, 3d, and 5th numbers; *Helvetifcher Revolutions Almanack* for 1799; *Hamburgh Politifches Journal*, which contains many curious particulars relating to the fubjection of Switzerland, Part I. for 1798; *Danican, Conquête de la Suiffè par le Général Brune*, in *Caffandre, ou quelques Reflexions fur la Révolution Françoisè et la Situation actuelle de l'Europe*, chapitre deux; Mallet du Pan, *Effai Historique fur la Deftruction de la Ligne et de la Liberté Helvetiques*, *Mercure Britannique*, No. 1, 2, 3.; *Coup-d'œil Politique fur le Continent*, chapitre fept.; *Diffofution of the Swifs Confederacy*, in *Planta's excellent History of the Helvetic Confederacy*, vol. II. chap. x.

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A powerful Armament equipped under Pretence of invading England—Egypt its real Destination—Buonaparte Commander—Views of this General and of Government—Buonaparte's Proclamation—He sails from Toulon—Captures Malta—The French pursued by an English Fleet—Buonaparte appears off Alexandria—Lands at Marabou—Storm and Massacre at Alexandria—Buonaparte's Proclamation—He sets out for Cairo—Skirmish at Rahmanié—and at Chebreisse—Hardships of the Army—Battle of the Pyramids—Buonaparte enters Cairo—Establishes a provisional Government—Further Proceedings of Nelson—Battle of Aboukir—English Expeditions against Havre and Ostend—The French defeated in an Attack on St. Marcou—land in Ireland—their momentary Success—and final Capture—Several Ships taken by Sir John Borlase Warren—Affairs of the Interior—Preparations for the new Elections—many of which are declared void—Treilhard chosen Director instead of François de Neufchateau—Large Supplies voted—Rapacity of the Directory—Fruclidorisation of the Cisalpine and Batavian Republics—Conduct of the Directory towards Portugal—the Hans Towns—and America

America—Effects of the Victory at Aboukir—Conduct of the Grand Signor—Reception of Nelson at Naples—Insurrection at Malta—Capture of Goza—and Minorca by the English—Views of the Directory—Exertions of the King of Naples—He attacks the French at Rome—and enters the City in Triumph—The French dethrone and banish from his Dominions the King of Sardinia—The Neapolitans expelled from Rome—The French pursue them into their own Territories—Take Gaeta—and besiege Capua—Contributions levied on Lucca and the Dominions of the King of Sardinia—The King of Naples retires to Palermo—General Mack's Position for defence of Capua—Insubordination of his Troops—State of the French Army—Inglorious Treaty concluded by Prince Pignatelli—Loyal Insurrection of the Lazzaroni—Treachery of Prince Moliterno—Attack on Capua—The French enter Naples after a Combat of sixty Hours—Revolutionary Government—General Levy of the People under Cardinal Ruffo.

BEFORE the atrocious and sanguinary tragedy of the reduction of Switzerland was accomplished, treachery and ambition had carried into other parts of the world the miseries of French fraternity, and the horrors of unprovoked aggression. While the uninformed in France, as well as other countries, were amused by pretences of a powerful preparation for the invasion of England, those who examined

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more

CHAP. more considerably the place and manner of equipping
 XXV. the armament, were satisfied that its destination was
 1798. for some other coast, and public expectation had
 already pointed out that of Egypt. It was no secret,
 that, during the monarchy, many projectors who
 hoped to recommend themselves, by suggesting ex-
 tensive enterprises, had lodged in the offices of different
 ministers plans for the subjugation of Egypt; but the
 old government, having always some regard to ap-
 pearances, and some consideration for the lives of the
 people, had not ventured to patronise an undertaking
 which, by whatever specious views of aggrandisement
 or advantage it might be recommended, could not be
 achieved without the infamy of assailing the dominions
 of an ancient and unprovoking ally, and the probable
 sacrifice of a great portion of the army in conquering
 a tract of land situated in an untried climate, where
 privations and diseases of every kind would thin their
 ranks, and make them execrate the fatal ambition of
 their rulers. Recent travellers from France had de-
 scribed Egypt in terms widely different from those in
 which the experience of earlier and more honest ages
 had depicted it; and the hopes of possessing a land
 replete with means of colonisation and commerce,
 combined with that of destroying the power of Great
 Britain in India, were supposed sufficient motives with
 republican France for the violation of all treaties, and
 the oblivion of all rights. Other reasons have also
 been assigned as influencing the government in this
 enterprise.

enterprife. They had promised to the army of Italy a milliard (43,750,000*l.*) as the recompence of their exertions, and their portion of plunder : this engagement they were neither able nor inclined to perform ; but the mutiny for pay, which had taken place at Rome, convinced them that words would not always satisfy these armed claimants. Buonaparte was intrusted with the command of this expedition ; and, in assuming this station, his personal ambition to tread the ground which had been impressed with the victorious footsteps of Alexander and Cæsar, is said to have been subservient to the views of the directory, who hated, feared, and were anxious to destroy him *. Probably both the rulers and the general were acting with refined artifice and duplicity : they hoped to deprive him of the advantages resulting from the command of an army which he had led to glory, by involving that army in a tedious and uncertain expedition ; while he, relying on his renown and popularity, and desirous to avoid personally interfering in the transactions which then engaged the attention of all Europe, accepted the command of the expedition, though he intended merely to accomplish the first part of its destination, and return to France in the autumn †.

Whatever sagacity might be exerted in conjectures

* See Carnot's answer to Bailleul, p. 30, English translation.

† See Copies of Original Letters intercepted, &c. vol. II, No. X.

respecting

CHAP. respecting the destination of the French fleet, which,
 XXV. including transports, amounted to upwards of four

1798. hundred sail, nothing certain could be learnt: the troops sent for embarkation were called the right wing of the army of England; but the squadron being assembled in the port of Toulon, and the collection of *savans*, of printing-presses, and various other implements of science, demonstrated that its destination

4th May. was for some other land. At length Buonaparte repaired to Toulon for the purpose of commanding this far-famed and doubtful expedition, and, as a preparatory measure, published a kind of military harangue in form of a proclamation, reminding his soldiers of their numerous victories on mountains, in plains, and before fortified places, and that nothing now remained for them to achieve but maritime conquests; they would now, he said, even exceed their former exertions for the prosperity of their country, *the good of mankind*, and their own glory.

19th. In a fortnight after this publication, the fleet sailed, and soon arrived off Malta, the grand-master of which island had long been bribed, and prepared for its surrender. Buonaparte
 9th June. commenced a farce of provoking hostilities, by demanding permission to water his squadron; an indirect refusal being conveyed, the military were disembarked, and, after two days of pretended resistance, a capitulation was signed, yielding the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino, to France. Some ridiculous

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culous stipulations were made for obtaining indemnities for the grand-master at the congress of Rastadt, and for assigning to each of the knights a paltry pension of seven hundred livres (30*l.* 12*s.*). Buonaparte, as usual, accommodated the new acquisition with a constitution on the French model, and having plundered the island, again proceeded towards his final destination.

18th.

No sooner had the French set sail from Toulon, than a British squadron of fourteen sail of the line, commanded by admiral Nelson, who had long been watching their operations, and had been prevented by various accidents from following or discovering their precise track, commenced a vigilant, though misdirected, pursuit. After failing in several other enquiries, the brave admiral sailed for Malta, but had the mortification to learn that the French had been gone four days, and being destitute of intelligence, he could only pursue the line marked out by probability; he examined the harbours

22d.

29th.

of Alexandria, and was surpris'd to find that the French had not appeared in that quarter; he next shaped his course towards the coast of Caramanea, and steering along the south side of Candia, reached Sicily, and entered the port of Syracuse to gain intelligence, and to water his squadron which had not been supplied since the beginning of May. The tidings gained at this place, though vague, seemed

18th July.

CHAP. seemed to ascertain that the French had proceeded
 XXV. towards the coast of Egypt.

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Meanwhile Buonaparte, having quitted Malta with
 28th June. a brisk wind from the north-east, made the
 island of Candia, arrived in four days off the
 coast of Africa, and on the ensuing evening,
 1st July. being only two days after Nelson had quitted,
 appeared with all his force before Alexandria. It
 may seem surprizing that so large a fleet as that which
 conveyed Buonaparte should have escaped the observa-
 tion of the British Squadron both in their passage to
 Alexandria and their return to Syracuse; but in ac-
 counting for this circumstance it is observed, that the
 French steered from Malta for Candia, by which they
 made an angular passage towards Alexandria, while
 Nelson proceeded directly for that place, without ap-
 proaching Candia, which considerably shortened the
 distance. The smallness of the British Squadron
 rendered it necessary to sail in close order, and it
 therefore covered only a very limited space; and as
 the admiral had no frigates to detach on the look-out,
 and a constant haze prevails in that atmosphere, the
 chance of descrying the French became very much
 circumscribed. The distance, likewise, between
 Candia and the Barbary coast, being about thirty-five
 leagues, leaves ample space for two of the largest
 fleets to pass without mutual observation*.

* Authentic Narrative by an Officer of Rank (sir Edward Berry),
 P. 15.

Apprehensive that fortune might yet desert him, and the English fleet return to frustrate his operations, Buonaparte hastily effected a landing of about four thousand three hundred men at Marabou, notwithstanding the height of the surf, and the difficulties of the shore. Although Marabou was only two leagues from Alexandria, the French found no opposition from the natives; not even a piece of artillery was planted for protection. Having subsequently augmented the number landed to about twenty-five thousand; they advanced in platoons against the city, and reached it, unopposed, except by a few Mamelouks, who, hovering around, cut off stragglers, and fought a few slight and partial skirmishes. The city was garrisoned by about five hundred unskilful janisaries, and the remaining inhabitants in the forts and on the tops of houses waited the attack. It is asserted that Alexandria was summoned, but the people answered only by yells and screams of fury, and by a discharge of artillery and carbines, and a shower of stones*: the French had not yet landed their ordnance, but the defences of Alexandria were so weak as to forbid all fear; and from the manner in which the affair is narrated by persons not interested to impart false impressions, the fact of any summons having been made is rendered

* See *Rélation des Campagnes du Général Buonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie*, par Berthier.

extremely

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extremely doubtful * ; and it is even positively affirmed, that the town was not summoned, in order to found a pretence for storming it, and thus striking terror into the intended victims of French perfidy and barbarity †. The Turks, assailed on every side by so large a force, made the best defence which resolution unaided by tactics could supply ; about a hundred and fifty of the French were killed, and generals Kleber and Menou wounded. Seeing the invaders scaling the ramparts and forcing themselves in on every side, the Turks desisted from an unprofitable resistance, and, betaking themselves to God and their prophet, filled the mosques. The French, with cannibal rage, pursued ; men, women, old, young, children at the breast, all were massacred, and this toil of depopulation lasted four days. Glutted with carnage, the troops, at length, desisted ; and the few inhabitants who remained alive, were exceedingly astonished at finding that the invaders did not cut their throats also ‡.

After this display of a thorough disregard of all laws of humanity, the commander of the French army proceeded to issue a proclamation which will signalise to all ages his contempt of divine institutions ; a proclamation designed undoubtedly as a trick to allure

* See intercepted correspondence, vol. I. No. I, II, and XII.

† See the same vol. No. XXI.

‡ In detailing this diabolical scene, I have not ventured to alter the phrases in which it was narrated by the actors themselves ; see same vol. pp. 1, 13, 19, 136, 150.

the confidence of the natives, but which, whenever viewed impartially, must sink into the most degrading contempt the character of that military adventurer, who, in a piratical pursuit of plunder, not only committed the most unprincipled barbarities, but voluntarily announced that renunciation of his faith, which, when performed through compulsion, stamps on the delinquent the name of renegado, and is justly considered as the last test of a depraved mind devoid of integrity and incapable of honour*. The proclamation, which is said to have been received by the miserable survivors of the massacre with transports of joy, began by expressly denying Jesus Christ, and proceeded to affirm that the French adored the Supreme Being, and honoured the prophet Mahomet and his holy Koran. "The French," said this infamous paper, "are true Mussulmen. Not long since they marched to Rome, and overthrew the throne of the pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of Islamism (the mahometan religion); and afterwards directed their course to Malta, and drove out the unbelievers, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Mussulmen."

Desirous to profit without delay by the dismal tranquillity, and enforced appearance of good-will, pro-

* For some remarks on this subject, equally judicious and spirited, see Substance of the Speech of the Right Honourable William Windham delivered in the House of Commons, Nov. 4, 1801, second edition, p. 98. Appendix L.

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duced by this combination of cruelty and hypocrisy, Buonaparte disembarked his artillery, cavalry, and ammunition, in order to march against Cairo. In the interval, he established a provincial government, still following the absurd model of France, and attempting to infuse into the minds of the Mussulmen the foppery of tri-coloured cockades and tri-coloured shawls; while he disarmed all the people except the muftis, imans, and cheiks, and threatened with utter destruction all who should oppose his progress. He chose to proceed to Cairo by the desert and Demenhour, leaving the command of Alexandria, where 7th, 8th, 9th great exertions were making to complete July. the fortifications, to Kleber. In their route to Demenhour, the French were continually harassed by the Arabs, who had filled up the wells in the desert, in consequence of which the fainting soldiers, scorched by a burning sun, could find no refreshment, and a small glass of muddy water was valued at its weight in gold. After reposing 11th. two days, and gaining insufficient refreshments at Demenhour, the army proceeded for Rahmanié, still harassed by the Arabs, who shewed themselves in considerable numbers, and even attacked the great guards. Having prosecuted their march from sun-rise till half past nine o'clock, three divisions of the French reached the Nile; and many soldiers, anxious to allay their heat and thirst in its refreshing stream, plunged in, dressed as they were: soon, however, they were compelled

compelled to return to their ranks, and resist the attack of about eight hundred Mamelouks, whom they dispersed without much difficulty.

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Buonaparte, having reached Rahmanié, remained there two days, to rest and recruit his soldiers; while a flotilla, prepared under his direction, was entering the Nile, to forward his further operations. He then pursued his route towards Cairo; and at the village of Chebreiffe encountered about four thousand Mamelouks, who assailed his flotilla and army, but, after displaying undaunted courage, were obliged to fly before the superior tactics of European troops; yet they still hovered about the army, harassing their march, forming ambuscades, and abusing and killing couriers and other persons who fell into their hands. Thus all communication was intercepted at the distance of thirty fathoms from the main army, nor could any intelligence be received from, or imparted to, the troops at Alexandria. The wants of the army were excessive; every village at which they arrived was deserted, they found neither man nor beast; the soldiers lay upon heaps of corn, yet wanted bread; meat could not be procured; and their chief subsistence was lentils and miserable cakes made of pounded wheat.

In these circumstances, their only hope and consolation was that of risking their lives in the field; and they heard with joy that Mourad-Bey, at the head of six thousand Mamelouks and a great body of Arabs
and

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and Fellahs, was entrenched at the village of Embabé, off Cairo, opposite to Boulac. At two in the morning, the French armed quitted Omm-el-dinar, and having in twelve hours reached the villages of Ebverach and Boutis, perceived the Mamelouks approaching. The republicans were fatigued with their long march, and their opponents, moving in great numbers, with cavalry clad in glittering armour, made a grand and striking appearance, while forming on their right on the plain. The spot contributed also to excite lofty emotions: behind their left were the celebrated pyramids, so justly classed among the wonders of the world; behind their right were the famous river Nile, Cairo, Mokattam, and the fields of ancient Memphis, where the fortune of war had so often changed the fate of empires. The order of battle was the same as at Chebreisse, and the Mamelouks were again taught the inefficacy of impetuous valour when opposed to science and discipline; they were repulsed after two or three furious though almost harmless onsets*, and pursued to Gizeh, while the entrenchments at Embabé were forced by parts of the divisions of Bon and Menou, and by Kleber's division, led by general Dugua. The bravery displayed by the defenders of this post renders their defeat truly lamentable. Fifteen hundred Mamelouk cavalry, and as many Fellahs, whose retreat was cut off by detach-

* The French say, that in the whole encounter they had only ten men killed, and about thirty wounded.

ments

ments under Marmont and Rampon, took an entrenched position behind a ditch disemboing itself into the Nile; and having vainly performed prodigies of valour, were all sacrificed to the fury of the soldiery, or drowned in the river *. Forty pieces of cannon, four hundred camels, and a vast quantity of baggage and provisions, were the spoils of this victory. The defeated Mamelouks fled in every direction, while divisions of the French army seized all the posts which they judged necessary to their safety or further operations. The next morning, the grandees of Cairo waited on Buonaparte, professing submission, and requiring protection: the commander answered with his usual insincerity, that the wish of the French was to remain on terms of friendship with the people of Egypt and the Ottoman Porte; and that the manners, usages, and religion of the country should be scrupulously respected. Shortly afterwards he removed his head-quarters to Cairo, and began to organize a provisional government, repugnant in every particular to the manners and usages of the people; appointing a divan in each province, empowered on any appearance of tumult to call in the French troops; affording no guaranty for the exercise of religion, but taking especial care to appoint *intendants*, to collect, in every province, the revenues which formerly be-

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* This fact is related in the very words of Berthier, in general a most partial and false narrator. See Relation, &c. p. 27.

CHAP. longed to the Mamelouks, but which were now de-
 XXV. } clared to be the property of the French republic *.

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Hitherto success had invariably attended the operations of Buonaparte; but no impartial person could conceive that he derived an increase of military fame from conflicts with a race whose intemperate valour only exposed them to more certain destruction. He undoubtedly looked with a longing eye towards that retreat in the neighbourhood of Paris, or the province of Burgundy, to which he intended, in two months, to return and pass the winter. He was the cause of retaining the fleet in a disadvantageous position in the road of Aboukir, for the mere purpose of ensuring his own escape; while his deluded followers were to be left to maintain possession of a country, misrepresented as a Land of Promise, but more truly described by Buonaparte himself, as one abounding in wheat, rice, pulse, and cattle; where barbarism was at its height, and where there was not even money enough to pay the troops, much less to reward their extraordinary labours, and gratify their hopes of plunder †. But the expectation of a retreat, so fondly cherished by the general, was destined to meet with an unexpected disappointment; and he was doomed to remain, for

* From *Histoire du Directoire Executif*, and other histories; *Relation*, &c. par Berthier; and *Intercepted Correspondence*.

† Buonaparte's letter to his brother, dated 28th July, *Intercepted Correspondence*, vol. II. p. 100, and the fac-simile prefixed.

some time, chained to that shore, where his evil genius, acting through the medium of a guilty ambition, seemed to have led him, and where he could only hope to maintain himself by repeated acts of cruelty and perfidy. CHAP. XXV. 1798.

After taking in water at Syracuse, admiral Nelson proceeded in search of the French squadron, to the coast of the Morea; and at Coron obtained such intelligence as induced him to hasten back to Alexandria, where he had the satisfaction to perceive the harbour crowded with vessels under the French flag. Animated as every heart on board the British fleet was with the hope of glory, and irritated by the disappointments experienced in a protracted chase, no proclamation was necessary to inspire them with contempt of danger and eagerness to perform their duty. Nor was it possible for the commander to feel any anxiety for the success of his operations as far as it was dependent on the correct understanding of his signals; for he had constantly maintained the most friendly intercourse with his officers, and described, in repeated conversations, the course of the manœuvres he intended to adopt in every situation in which the encounter could possibly take place. It was noon when the British commander descried the Pharos of Alexandria; and captain Hood having been dispatched in the *Zealous*, communicated, by a signal, intelligence that the French fleet, consisting of sixteen ships, was lying at

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anchor in order of battle, in a bay, which afterwards proved to be that of Aboukir. Nelson's fleet consisted of thirteen ships of seventy-four guns, one fifty, and a brig of sixteen: admiral Brueys commanded thirteen ships of the line and four frigates; the largest of his vessels carrying a hundred and twenty guns, and his smallest thirty-six. He was moored in a strong and compact line of battle, close in with the shore, and protected by numerous gun-boats, and a battery of cannon and mortars on an island in his van.

Admiral Nelson, having by his preparations and signals made a disposition of his force calculated to secure and improve the victory, approached the French fleet, in a close line of battle, each ship founding as she stood in. The position of the French fleet presented the most formidable obstacles: from their situation, they had no manœuvres to perform; but their attention was confined to their artillery, in the judicious use of which they so much prided themselves, and to which they chiefly ascribed their astonishing successes by land. The British admiral, who saw all the advantages the enemy possessed, but viewed them with a seaman's eye, knew that they must have room to swing the length of their cables, and consequently that there would be space enough for his ships to anchor between them and the shore.

The Goliah, commanded by captain Foley, led the fleet into battle. At a quarter past six in the evening the engagement commenced; captain Foley doubling their

their line, and anchoring alongside of the second ship in the van, and four other ships following his course, took their stations opposite the vessels they were directed to combat. The Vanguard, distinguished by the flag of admiral Nelson, next entered the battle: aware that it was impossible for the rear of the French (being to leeward) to assist, he redoubled his efforts to conquer one part before he attacked the rest; and anchored without-side of the enemy's line, who was thus completely between two fires. The Vanguard soon dismasted the Spartiate, and obliged her to surrender; and the Aquilon yielded to captain Louis, in the Minotaur. The Bellerophon, commanded by captain Darby, running down the line, dropped anchor alongside of the l'Orient of a hundred and twenty guns, bearing the flag of the French commander in chief, admiral Brueys. Captain Peyton, in the Defence, followed close, and took his station, with great judgment, a-head of the Minotaur; he engaged the Franklin of eighty guns, which bore the flag of contre-admiral Blanquet Du Chelard, second in command. The Majestic, with the Alexander and Swiftsure, which had been prevented assisting at the commencement of the battle, by reconnoitring Alexandria, and afterwards being obliged to alter their course to avoid the shoal on which the Culloden had struck, came into action at eight o'clock, when darkness had for some time enveloped the combatants. The last ship that entered the conflict was the Leander, whose

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CHAP. whose captain, Thompson, had lost some time in vain
 XXV. endeavours to assist the Culloden. In the van, four
 1798. French ships had already struck their colours to the
 British flag; and the battle raged chiefly in the
 centre, where the Franklin, l'Orient, le Tonnant,
 and l'Heureux, were making every exertion to re-
 cover the glory lost by their comrades. At nine
 o'clock a fire was observed to have broken out in the
 cabin of l'Orient; but although the conflagration soon
 raged with dreadful fury, the French admiral sustained
 the honour of his flag with heroic firmness, till he
 was cut asunder by a cannon-ball: he had before re-
 ceived three desperate wounds, but could not be pre-
 vailed on to quit his station on the arm-chest. His
 captain, Casa Bianca, fell by his side. Several of the
 officers and men, seeing the impracticability of extin-
 guishing the fire, which had now extended itself along
 the upper decks and was flaming up the masts,
 jumped overboard; some supporting themselves on
 spars and pieces of wreck, others swimming with all
 their might to escape the dreaded catastrophe. Shot
 flying in all directions dashed many of them to
 pieces; others were picked up by the boats of the
 fleet, or dragged into the lower ports of the nearest
 ships: the British sailors humanely stretched forth
 their hands to save a fallen enemy, though the battle
 at that moment raged with uncontrolled fury. The
 situation of the Alexander and Swiftsure was ex-
 tremely perilous; as the explosion of such a ship as
 l'Orient

P'Orient might involve all around in destruction. CHAP.
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 Captain Hallowell of the Swiftsure, being to 1798.
 windward of the burning ship, would not remove; but captain Ball's ship having been twice set on fire by the flames of P'Orient, he was obliged to take a more distant station.

Admiral Nelson, who had been carried off severely wounded on the head, was informed of the situation of the P'Orient, and hastened on deck, directing that every exertion should be made to save as many lives as possible. Boats were immediately put out, and above seventy Frenchmen rescued.

At half past nine, the fire communicated to the magazine, and P'Orient blew up with a tremendous explosion. A tremulous motion was felt to the very bottom of each ship, similar to that of an earthquake; and fragments hurled to a vast height into the air descended in about three minutes into the water, and on the decks and rigging of the surrounding ships. Fortunately, however, no material damage occurred. An awful silence reigned for several minutes, as if the contending squadrons, struck with horror, had forgotten their hostile rage in pity for the sufferers. But vengeance soon roused the drooping spirits of the French; the engagement was renewed, and continued till about three o'clock in the morning, 2d Aug.
 when the firing ceased entirely, both squadrons being equally exhausted with fatigue. At four, just as the day began to dawn, the conflict was revived; in the course

CHAP. course of which l'Artemise frigate fired a broadside at
 XXV. the Theseus, and then struck her colours; but just
 1798. as a boat sent to take possession had come within a
 short distance, she burst into a flame, and soon after-
 wards blew up. This event arose from the treachery
 of Estandlet, who commanded; and who, having set
 his vessel on fire after his surrender, escaped to the
 shore, with most of his crew.

Separate engagements between different ships were
 maintained during the greater part of the day; about
 noon, rear-admiral Ville Neuve, in the Guillaume
 Tell of eighty guns, the Généreux of seventy-four
 guns, and la Justice and Diane frigates, got under
 weigh, and made their escape.

On the ensuing morning, the only French
 3d Aug. ships remaining in the bay, not captured or
 destroyed, were the Timoleon and Tonnant. The
 former being aground near the coast, the captain
 (Trullet) with his crew escaped in boats after setting
 her on fire, and in a short time she blew up. The
 Tonnant submitted to the Theseus, Leander, and
 Swiftsure, which completed the conquest of the
 French fleet in the bay of Aboukir, and the British
 flag rode triumphant on the Egyptian seas.

The French distinctly beheld from the heights of
 Roseita the progress of this astonishing, and to them
 afflictive, engagement: their hopes vanished with the
 chance of victory; and they now considered them-
 selves for ever lost to their country, and cooped up in
 a strange

a strange and detested land, to struggle for existence, and lengthen life only to protract their despair and horror*.

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It was not on the shores of Egypt alone that the unallied English assailed the mighty force of France and her confederates, though in no part was their valour so emblazoned by success. About the time that Buonaparte sailed from Toulon, a British squadron bombarded, but without making any impression, the town of Havre; and another naval force, with a considerable body of troops on board, ^{19th May.} proceeded to the road of Ostend, for the purpose of blowing up the basin, gates, and sluices, of the Bruges canal, and destroying the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France. Although the state of the weather was highly unfavourable to the enterprise, general Coote insisted on landing, and many troops were on shore before they were discovered. The batteries which then opened on the ships were answered in the most spirited manner, and a sufficient

* Chiefly from captain sir Richard Berry's Narrative; Cooper Willyams's Voyage up the Mediterranean; and the Intercepted Correspondence, vol. I. p. 178 to the end (a letter by Pouffielgue, p. 201, is peculiarly well written). The difference of force of the French and English fleets was: English, 1028 guns, and 8065 men; French, 1216 guns, and 10,710 men. Sir Edward Berry being ordered home with dispatches in the Leander of 50 guns, encountered, near Goza, Le Généreux of 74, which had escaped from the battle, and, after maintaining an obstinate, though unequal, contest for six hours, was obliged to strike.

quantity

CHAP. quantity of men landed to effect the main object of
 XXV. the enterprize: but the surf had in the mean time in-
 1798. creased so much as to prevent the possibility of return;
 the brave band were surrounded; and general Coote,
 after making a valiant, though ineffectual, resistance,
 was obliged to surrender himself and his whole party,
 amounting to eleven hundred and twenty-seven men,
 prisoners of war.

The French had, in the mean time, made an attack
 on the island of Marcou, off the coast of Normandy,
 which was defended only by a few invalids. Fifty
 gunboats full of troops were dispatched from La
 Hogue on this expedition; but the steady valour of the
 scanty garrison obliged the numerous assailants to
 retreat, after losing several of their men and six of
 their boats*.

This attempt was, however, of small moment, com-
 pared to one, which, if crowned with success, would
 have proved fatal to the highest interests of the British
 empire. No country could be better prepared than
 Ireland for the reception of those principles which,
 under the semblance of restoring natural rights and
 conferring general liberty, were calculated to place
 the people under the subjection of France. A tur-
 bulent party in parliament arraigned with violence all
 the proceedings of government, while a formidable
 band of rebels, headed and instigated by chiefs in

* Gazettes.

constant communication with France, desolated the fairest provinces, adding to the enormous guilt of treason, all the inferior crimes of murder, rape, and theft, and leaving, wherever they prevailed, dreadful mementos of their fury. Against these the force of government had been vigorously, and, in general, effectually, employed; and the rebels themselves finding that, after the glorious victory achieved by lord Duncan, no French force approached to succour them, began to despair. When the spirit of rebellion was thus considerably depressed, and all the energy of government roused, the French, unexpectedly, dispatched three frigates, which, without any transports, suddenly appeared in the bay of Killala, and landing between seven and eight hundred men, took possession of the town, making prisoners a small party of the Prince of Wales's Fencibles, consisting of an officer and twenty privates, together with some yeomen. General consternation prevailed throughout the district; the bishop's palace was the chief rendezvous of the invaders, who made every exertion to gain adherents among the natives, by magnificent promises, and by furnishing them with clothes and accoutrements. The invaders, though few in number, were picked men, and led by Humbert, a brave and experienced general. Preparations were immediately made to assail them; but before these could be effectually arranged, Humbert attacked general Lake at Castlebar, and compelled

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pelled

CHAP. pelled him to retreat with an inconsiderable loss of
 XXV. men, but the French took possession of six pieces of
 1798. cannon. This slight success produced no general
 effect, nor were the invaders joined by great numbers
 of rebels, as the army which was collecting threatened
 their certain defeat. The first movements of the enemy
 seemed to indicate an intention of penetrating to
 the North ; but they afterwards turned to their right,
 to Drunskeim, with the apparent design of proceeding
 to Boyle or Carrick-on-Shannon. Lord Cornwallis,
 who was lord-lieutenant, and general Lake at the head
 of a separate force acting in co-operation,
 8th Sept. commenced a pursuit; and after four days and
 nights most severe marching, general Lake's column
 overtook the invaders at Ballinamuck, and, after a
 slight conflict, obliged them to surrender at discretion.
 The king's troops lost in the encounter only three
 killed and fifteen wounded and missing : the party
 who yielded was composed of eight hundred and
 forty-four French, including officers, and ninety-six
 rebels. These suffered most severely in the engage-
 ment, though the amount of their loss is not known;
 and when the party had laid down their arms, the
 French gave up their deluded adherents to the venge-
 ance of the law, by pointing them out, and pro-
 nouncing contemptuously the word *rebelle*.

This trifling campaign was more useful than
 glorious ; as it served to convince those inhabitants of
 Ireland who would allow themselves the benefit of re-
 flection,

flection, how little reliance could be placed on, and how little advantage derived from, French connection : it served too to make the enterprizes of the directory ridiculous, even in the eyes of their own subjects. The expedition seems to have consisted of several members, though not sufficiently connected to form any judicious plan of co-operation. After Humbert had surrendered, a squadron commanded by admiral Bompard, consisting of the Hoche of eighty-four guns, eight frigates, and a schooner, was descried off Tory Island and the Rosses, and chased by a British fleet under sir Borlase Warren. After a long pursuit and vigorous contest, the Hoche, and four frigates, all new and full of troops, were captured. Another squadron which entered the bay of Killala, on hearing the success of its predecessors, immediately disappeared ; but before the end of October, La Loire, another frigate, and two Dutch frigates, with troops, arms, and ammunition, for Ireland, were captured : and thus all fears of a formidable invasion of that country were terminated*.

In the interior of France the usual system of intrigue and rapacity was pursued with unabated eagerness, though the augmented powers of government prevented the contests of opposition in the halls of the legislature from rising to the same height as before.

* Gazettes, and Narrative by the bishop of Killala.

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The directory prepared for the new elections, by addresses, proclamations, instructions, and intimations of conspiracies; and augmented the number of their adherents, by excluding nobles, and admitting foldiers on furlough to the rights of suffrage: but a great portion of the electors had already resolved not to take any share in the acts of the primary assemblies, justly considering that a nomination to either of the councils, in the existing state of government, was an injury and indignity too great to be offered even to an enemy. This forbearance on the part of those who were really well-disposed, afforded an opportunity of which the indefatigable jacobins eagerly availed themselves; and, soon after the returns were made, a committee was appointed to revise the proceedings. Their report was presented by Bailleul; in conformity to which, a great number of the elections were declared either partially or totally illegal, and other members returned, more suited to the views of government.

Having arranged this important point to their satisfaction, the directory proceeded to draw lots for a vacancy in their own body: the new member, François de Neufchateau, was ejected; and Treilhard, then a member of the legation at the congress of Rastadt, was chosen in his stead.

The chief occupation of the councils was now reduced to the voting of supplies according to the dictates of the directory. Immediately after the 18 Fructidor, they had fixed the expences for the remainder

remainder of the year at a hundred and sixteen millions (5,075,000*l.*). The council of ancients made some slight opposition to this demand, but were tranquillised, partly by a recollection that the road to Rochefort, where their late colleagues had embarked for Cayenne, was still open, and partly by a promise that the expences of the ensuing year, being one of peace, would be considerably diminished. They were, however, enraged and astonished to find that the demand for that year was announced at six hundred millions (26,250,000*l.*); but whatever might be their repugnance, they were obliged to vote the supply, and it was even intimated that delay or debate would be considered offensive.

All the sums which could be obtained from the people of France were still insufficient to answer the public exigencies, and gratify the rapacity of the directory and their subordinate agents. The plunder they had acquired from Switzerland was soon exhausted; and that expected from Malta was, on the 1st of August, buried in the ocean: the success of preceding villainies rendered the directory callous to the effects of opinion, and they did not hesitate to adopt any means, however disgraceful, which promised to gratify their eagerness for money. In France, all kinds of beneficial employ, as well as all sorts of property which the plunder of the former possessors had yet left, or the misdirected industry of the people could produce, were exposed to sale; and when

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CHAP. when the sums acquired by these means were found
 XXV. inadequate, the faith of the nation was with equal
 1798. profligacy made an object of pecuniary barter. Lacroix was sent into Holland, and Trouvé to Milan, in quality of proconsuls, to *fructidorise*, as it was called, the Batavian and Cisalpine republics: parts of the directory and councils of each were arrested, imprisoned, and banished, without form or process, and other members substituted, abjectly devoted to the French directory; and these changes were effected, as at Paris, by the military force.

The pecuniary resources of these two republics were too much exhausted to afford immediate gratification to the rapacious nation, and therefore other applications were made. Portugal had sent an ambassador to Paris to negotiate peace, who had as usual been directed to pay certain sums as the price of that blessing. After the treaty was concluded, and part of the money received, the directory again declared war, ordered the ambassador to quit Paris within four-and-twenty hours, and, on his attempting to renew negotiations, arrested and sent him to the Temple. This violent proceeding, no less repugnant to the law of nations than their general conduct was to all laws of humanity and justice, is said to have proceeded, in part, from alarms respecting Augereau. That general had assisted in the revolution of Fructidor, in hopes of obtaining a seat in the directory; but being rewarded only with the command of the army
 of

of the Rhine, expressed his complaints without caution or reserve. Such dispositions in a man who led a considerable military force were considered dangerous, and he was removed from the Rhine to the Pyrenées, to command a nominal body called the army of Portugal. CHAP.
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The Hans-towns, though politically insignificant, and ostensibly supported by the king of Prussia, did not escape from the rapacious gripe of the directory: their ships were seized and their commerce interrupted, on frivolous grounds of complaint; but however clamorously these were descanted on, the fury of France subsided on payment of some millions to her unprincipled rulers.

The American republic was also noted as a fit victim to the new system of finance. A treaty of alliance and neutrality concluded between Great Britain and the United States formed the basis of complaints, which not being satisfactorily adjusted, privateers were commissioned to attack the trade of the Americans. The people, sufficiently removed from the centre of war to be exempt from the passions which it excited and the miseries which attended it, were anxious to retain the inestimable benefits resulting from neutrality. They were not therefore hasty in making reprisals, but deputed plenipotentiaries to Paris. The directory, imputing this mode of conduct to abject fear, assumed a proportionate haughtiness and refused them an audience, but, through their inferior agents,

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agents, insinuated that the donation of about 60,000*l.* to Talleyrand, to be divided between him and four of the directors, would be a necessary preliminary to any attempt at negotiation. It was also more than intimated, that as Merlin had been paid for the letters of marque issued to privateers, those licences could not be recalled, but the American government might purchase the friendship of France by a loan of eighty millions (3,500,000*l.*). In making such proposals, the directory had egregiously mistaken the character of those with whom they were treating: in the bosom of the Americans, no passion is stronger than the love of money; and this attempt at extortion immediately drove the plenipotentiaries back to their own shores, where they exposed to the whole universe the detestable system which had been practised with an intention to plunder and dupe a neutral and friendly nation. The Americans cheerfully armed, and prepared to make reprisals; and general Washington was again invested with the command of all the military resources of the republic, which derived its formation from his valour and judgment, and owed its continuance to his justice and moderation*.

While France was thus, by all her acts, exciting indignation in new enemies, the great victory at Aboukir seemed to arouse all Europe from a lethargic slumber,

* From *Histoire du Directoire Exécutif*, chapters xxxiii. and xxxv.; and *History of the Campaigns of 1796*, &c. vol. II. chap. xi.

to decide those who were yet wavering in resolutions to support their governments against the encroachments of the haughty republic, and to inspire those who had yet been inert spectators with an honourable emulation in the cause of public right and humanity. It was almost unprecedented in history that a naval victory should produce such extensive effects, but the importance of the achievement was not less powerful in influencing the minds of European potentates than the consolatory instance it afforded of one great event happening to break that series of fortunate occurrences which for several years had rendered France generally triumphant.

The potentate most interested in the immediate consequences of this victory, the grand-signor, who had before been wavering in his conduct, became instantly decided to contest the possession of his dominions against an unprincipled and unprovoked invasion. He received the news of Nelson's success with transport, and issued a dignified and reasonable manifesto against the French, while he sent to the British victor those honorary donations, which, as well by their value as the liberality with which they were presented, evinced the sentiments of the donor.

When the British fleet was refitted, after its late memorable encounter, the admiral repaired to Naples; where the fear of giving offence to the overwhelming republic was not a motive sufficiently

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sufficiently forcible to prevent the king and his whole court from giving the most joyful welcome to the victor, and paying to him every homage which his great and successful exertions could claim *. The unrivalled ascendancy of the British fleet in the Mediterranean seemed to impart confidence and alacrity to all the continent, and to endanger the preponderance of France even in those parts where her authority was most established. The people of Malta, irritated by the perfidy, licentiousness, rapacity, and irreligion, of the garrison left by Buonaparte, were in a
28th Oct. state of insurrection; and Nelson, with

* The king of Naples afterwards conferred on him the title of duke of Bronti. The people of his native island received the tidings of his victory with the greatest exultation, celebrating it with illuminations, and providing for the widows and orphans of those who had lost their lives in the conflict by a munificent subscription. Both houses of parliament voted him their thanks; and the king honoured him with a peerage, and made honourable additions to his armorial bearings. Will the reader pardon the insertion of one anecdote, and one observation connected with this glorious period of the life of this truly great man? After the battle of the Nile great exertions were made to fish up pieces of the wreck of P'Orient; a large part of the main-top mast being recovered, a coffin was formed from the wood and iron and presented to lord Nelson, who retains it as a most valuable acquisition, and intends that his mortal remains shall be deposited in this appropriate memorial of his immortal glory. As a motto to his enlarged coat of arms, he bears the words, *Palnam qui meruit ferat*; a well-chosen and expressive compliment: but it is remarkable, that the anagram of his own name, HORATIO NELSON, gives the more peculiar, though less classical, phrase, HONOR EST A NILO.

great

great facility, captured the neighbouring island of Goza. In a short time afterwards, a squadron, under commodore Duckworth, conveyed a small body of troops to Minorca, which, after a slight resistance, was captured without the loss of a man.

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15th Nov.

It was generally believed, at this period, that the French government meditated the destruction of the three monarchies of Spain, Naples, and Sardinia; intending to sacrifice them to their rapacity, and that hatred of royalty which several of the directors felt as a ruling passion. During the summer, various alterations had arisen, and some hostilities were maintained, between the Ligurian republic and the king of Sardinia; a sure proof that France beheld that monarch with malevolence, and sanctioned the attack of a subordinate state. The king of Naples viewed with the utmost alarm the formation of the Roman republic, a centre of intrigue and den of jacobinism, which threatened him with every danger. After the manifestations of joy with which he received the hero of the Nile, he could but expect the indignation of France; and prepared to encounter its effects with vigour, resolving to conquer with glory, or to fall without disgrace. He employed all means in his power to augment his troops, and obtained the aid of the brave and judicious, though unfortunate, general Mack to command them. The Roman republic
made

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made representations to the French directory, who, in a long manifesto, explanatory of a message to the councils, declared their reasons for commencing hostilities against the kings of Naples and Sardinia. This state-paper mixed with gross calumnies, egregious falsehoods, and most frivolous charges, some truths, which were, however, so far from sufficient as a justification of the French, that it almost required an implicit concession of their right to universal sovereignty to consider them at all applicable to a dispute between nations.

The king of Naples went in person to join his troops; and general Mack, acting rather on a calculation of their numbers than their probable effective force, issued a summons to the French general to evacuate Rome, the revolutionising of which, since the peace of Campo-Formio, he affirmed to be an usurpation, not recognised either by the king of the Two Sicilies or his august ally the emperor. Championet, who commanded the French troops in Rome,

23d. returned a moderate answer; but the Neapolitan army immediately entered the Roman territory in five columns, amounting to forty thousand men, still leaving a considerable *corps de reserve* for the protection of Naples; while a detachment, under the orders of count Roger de Dumas, disembarked at Prefidii, on the coast of Tuscany, to harass the French on their flanks; and another body, commanded by general

neral Naffelli, conveyed by the British fleet to Leghorn, was intended to cut off their retreat into Tuscany. Leghorn opened its gates without resistance; and Championet, whose whole force did not amount to ten thousand Frenchmen, though his ranks were swelled by several thousand Italians, garrisoned the castle of St. Angelo, and, quitting Rome, fell back upon the Upper Tyber. The king of Naples entered the city in triumph, and amid the joyful acclamations of the people, who cut down the tree of liberty, and demolished Duphot's monument.

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The French rejoiced at this harmless aggression, which afforded them a plausible opportunity of executing their revolutionary projects. On learning the invasion of Rome, Joubert, the commander in chief of the army of Italy, by virtue of secret instructions from the directory, began his march towards Piedmont. The king of Sardinia, who had made war against France, died of grief soon after the conclusion of that infamous and ill-adviced peace, which left his person and states at the mercy of the republic. His son and successor, Victor Emanuel, disheartened at the miserable prospects which awaited his accession, finding a dismembered kingdom, an empty treasury, dismantled fortresses, a disorganised army, a people surrounded by countries already revolutionised, and driven to distress by the exactions of the French troops, resigned the government into the hands of a regency;

CHAP. regency ; but was afterwards obliged to conclude an
XXV. offensive and defensive alliance with the republicans,

1798. and give them possession of his capital as a pledge of fidelity. The present occasion was eagerly embraced to terminate the political existence of this inoffensive

6th Dec. prince : general Victor entered by surprise into Novarra, disarming the Piedmontese troops, and placing garrisons in all their fortresses.

9th. The soldiery would have resisted ; but their efforts were prevented by the formal abdication of Victor Emanuel, which being signed and sent to Joubert, at Chivasso, he immediately repaired to Turin, and compelled the unhappy monarch to quit his capital the same night. Here republicanism enjoyed another triumph, suited to its ferocious taste.

By torch-light, at an inclement season, followed by his family, by his wife (a sister of the unfortunate Louis XVI.), and a small number of faithful adherents, the dethroned king began his compulsory journey to seek shelter in the island of Sardinia, the spot assigned to him by the directory. That abandoned

14th. junto published a declaration of their motives in a message to the councils, and, among other charges equally atrocious and absurd, infamously accused the king of having caused a man to be buried alive, and of having poisoned the wells for the purpose of destroying the republican army. His dominions were speedily revolutionised ; a provisional government established at Piedmont, and the Sardinian soldiers,

foldiers, having taken an oath of fidelity to France, were incorporated with the troops of that nation.

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Meanwhile Championet, perceiving that, from their positions, the divisions of the Neapolitan army could not support each other, and having received reinforcements which augmented his force to fifteen thousand men, defeated their advanced guard ^{6th to 13th} at Otricoli; he then carried Calvi, taking a ^{Dec.} great number of prisoners, and subsequently defeated his opponents at Terni, Torri di Palma, and Monterosi. The division commanded by general Mack in person was attacked near Cantaluppo; it was badly organised and inexpert in war, discontented with its general, and misled by treason and cowardice: over such forces the French gained an easy victory: they were incapable of rallying after the first defeat, and withdrew in disorder towards the frontiers of Naples. Mack being joined by count Roger de Dumas, a brave and intelligent emigrant, retired to post himself behind Capua, while the king of Naples ^{13th,} ^{16th.} quitted Rome in fifteen days after his triumphal entry, and Championet re-entered the city amid the acclamations of the Jacobins.

The French general instantly prepared to take advantage of the terror of the Neapolitans, and having compelled them to quit the Roman territory, pursued them to their own. The right, under Macdonald, Mathiew, and Rey, advanced in different directions. The latter, being joined by the younger Kellermann, presented

CHAP. presented himself with less than three thousand men
XXV. before Gaeta, a fortified town situated on a little pen-

1798. insula, defended by four thousand Neapolitans, victualled for a whole year, plentifully supplied with ammunition, and having the advantage of an open sea, either for succour or escape: yet, with all these advantages, the place surrendered at discretion on the firing of the first shot, yielding to the captors an immense booty. Having surmounted this obstacle, Rey was enabled to join Championet and Macdonald under the walls of Capua, where they summoned Mack to surrender. Having received a negative answer, Championet, rendered presumptuous by success, attacked

the works, but was repulsed with considerable loss. At length, the left wing of the
1799.
1st and 4th French army, under Le Moine and Duhem,
Jan. after several intermediate successes and toilsome marches, occasioned by the badness of their route and the inclemency of the season, joined Championet before Capua.

While the Neapolitans were expelled from Rome and harassed on their own territory, general Serrurier, advancing from Modena, entered Lucca,
2d. where he levied a contribution of two millions (97,500*l.*), and was proceeding to Leghorn; but the Neapolitans having quitted it, and the French not choosing yet to quarrel with the emperor of Germany, whose interests were inseparably connected with those of the grand-duke of Tuscany, he was ordered to
march

march back. Joubert was, at the same time, exercising the horrors of revolutionary tyranny at Piedmont; levying requisitions, suppressing the ecclesiastical bodies, and vending their effects; opening the tombs of the kings at Superga, dishonouring and dispersing their ashes, and finally imposing on the already impoverished city of Turin a contribution of two millions, and proportionate ones on the rest of the country.

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The defence of Capua was considered the only remaining resource of Naples. The king, disheartened by the baseness of his troops, and alarmed, as it is supposed, at the discovery of a jacobinical conspiracy which he had no means of preventing, had on the 16th of December sought relief with his ministers, the foreign ambassadors, and about four hundred of his suite, on board lord Nelson's ship, having caused the maritime arsenals, and all the ships of war which he could not bring away, to be burnt. After experiencing, during a whole week, all the horrors of a storm and fears of a shipwreck, and seeing prince Albert his son, who was in his seventh year, expire with fatigue, he thought himself fortunate in landing alive at Palermo.

General Mack, having rallied the scattered remains of his army, still outnumbered his opponents, and kept them in check by the excellence of his position, occupying an entrenched camp in the plain of Caserta, having the Volturno in front, and being protected by Capua, which defends the passage of the river.

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river. His camp was, however, a scene of deplorable disorder; insubordination and licentiousness generally prevailed; daily conspiracies broke out; the officers knew not how to command, and the troops were unwilling to obey: the general therefore, feeling the impossibility of resuming the offensive, proposed an armistice; but Championet rejected it with disdain. Yet the French general was not in such a state as to render his conduct, in a military view, justifiable: he

8th. sustained a considerable check in an attempt on Capua, and was destitute of artillery for a

regular siege; the insurrection of armed peasants, from Abruzzo to Naples, incessantly harassed him, and cut off his communications; general Rusca had been made prisoner by them; general Rey was assassinated by a woman at Gaeta; and the troops, without tents or sustenance, were perishing with cold before Capua.

Such a situation must have proved inevitably fatal to the French army; but the panic fear of prince Pignatelli, who, on the departure of the king, had assumed the regency, under the title of captain-general of the kingdom, rescued them. He had long been

10th. soliciting a peace; and when the French were on the verge of despair he agreed, as the price of a suspension of arms, to deliver into their hands Capua, which was the key of Naples, with its magazines and artillery, and even the artillery of Mack's intrenched camp. He also agreed to yield to the re-

publicans

publicans all the country from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Ofanto, to shut the ports of the kingdom against their enemies, to pay ten millions of livres (437,500*l.*) and send an embassador to Paris to treat for a definitive peace.

Already were the gates of Capua opened to the French, who had not a single piece of artillery to form the siege, and other articles of this improvident and disgraceful convention were beginning to be put in execution, when the terms became known to the people. The class termed lazzaroni, fired with indignation, flew to arms, and using as rallying words, *Viva il re!—Viva San Janaro!* seized many posts, threatening all and sacrificing many foreigners and partisans of the French; and even, in their misguided rage, menacing general Mack, who was obliged to take refuge, with all his staff, in the camp of his adversaries *. The insurgents having disarmed the troops lately arrived from Leghorn, took possession of Castel-Nuovo and Castel-di-

* This truly unfortunate man was at this period dangerously ill, in consequence of a poison administered by a treacherous Neapolitan. He had obtained from Championet a promise of a safe passage across Italy to Germany; but was nevertheless arrested on his road by order of the directory, and conveyed successively to Milan, Briançon, and Dijon, where he was detained in close custody. In the beginning of the year 1800, Buonaparte, to forward the success of a political intrigue, restored him to liberty; but as Mack had reason to fear that the indulgence would soon be revoked, he made his escape, and reached Frankfort.

Carmina,

CHAP. Carmina, practised the greatest violences on all whom
 XXV. they considered as partisans of the French, producing
 1799. by their unrestrained fury scenes of horror similar to
 those which disfigured the streets of Paris in July,
 1789.

16th. Unfortunately for them, they chose as a
 leader the young prince Moliterno, a de-
 generate wretch, who disgraced his birth by a devoted
 attachment to the cause of jacobinism, and maintained
 a secret correspondence with the French, for the pur-
 pose of yielding to destruction his too-confiding fol-
 lowers. For the purpose of enfeebling their general
 exertions, he armed, and mixed among their ranks,
 all the revolutionists, into whose possession he also
 contrived to deliver the castle of St. Elmo, which
 commands the entry into Naples; he was even suffi-
 ciently base clandestinely to visit the French camp,
 and arrange with Championet a plan for giving up
 the city and exterminating the loyalists.

21st. In pursuance of this plan, he induced thirty
 thousand of them to march to the attack of
 Capua, which they attempted several times to storm,
 but were repulsed with great loss. Their courage,
 however, augmenting with their rage, they were pre-
 paring to scale the walls on the bodies of their
 deceased comrades, when their attention was engaged
 by the din of combat on the side of Naples. While
 the defenders of that city were treacherously led to a
 desperate exploit, a column of French advanced upon the
 the

the town through Capochino and Poggio Reale. The lazzaroni who had remained behind, astonished, ran to arms, set fire to the city in several places, slaughtered those whom they supposed to have betrayed them, and attacked the French with unexampled fury. Those who were engaged before Capua were at the same time assailed in flank by a republican column and by the traitors of Naples; they turned, however, towards the city, and for the space of sixty hours the plain between it and Capua was the scene of a most confused and sanguinary conflict. Victory long remained uncertain; on the 21st and 22d of January the French were broken in upon several times, and experienced a considerable loss; their artillery in vain overthrew whole ranks of these brave lazzaroni; others took their places, and renewed the battle with still more courage and obstinacy. At length valour, assisted by order and discipline, proved superior to numbers and fierce intrepidity: the French entered the principal streets of Naples with fire and sword. The lazzaroni disputed their ground foot by foot, and harassed them from the tops of the houses with a shower of stones and musketry. The flaming streets were filled with mutilated carcasses, bloody and half burnt, and the city offered a spectacle of horror not to be described. The French, assisted by the jacobins, who put them in possession of the forts of St. Elmo and Castel-Nuovo, which kept firing on the royalists, succeeded in cutting off or dispersing this brave

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23d.

CHAP. brave populace. The castles of Ova and Carmina
 XXV. opened their gates, and the republicans saw themselves
 1799. possessors of the capital, deluged with blood and a prey
 to flames.

Having gained by force and treachery this dear
 and inglorious victory, Championet employed
 24th. himself in forming a provisional revolutionary
 government: he disarmed the loyalists, and formed a
 national guard of adherents to his own cause, among
 whom, to the astonishment of all thinking men, were
 seen many individuals of the first families, dignitaries
 of the church, and the archbishop himself. The tree
 of liberty was planted in the royal square, and a Te
 Deum, which might almost be considered as a
 burlesque, was performed, to return thanks for the
 glorious entry of the French, who, protected in a
 peculiar manner by Divine Providence, had regener-
 ated the people, and had come thither to establish
 and consolidate their happiness. Royalty was abo-
 lished by proclamation, and a Parthenopian republic
 established, on which the general conferred the usual
 blessing of a French constitution, and repaid himself
 in the accustomed manner, by requisitions, contri-
 butions, exactions, and pillage.

The limits of the new republic extended, however,
 but little further than the territory occupied by the
 French. The people of the country, sharing the
 courageous fidelity of the lazzaroni; rose *en masse*, and,
 led by cardinal Ruffo and a priest surnamed Gran-
 Diavolo,

Diavolo, occupied the defiles, and prevented the republicans from penetrating into Calabria. The invaders were in fact so much weakened by their losses as to retain with difficulty the ground of which they were in possession, and which peace alone could enable them to occupy with safety or resign with advantage*.

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* Chiefly from the History of the Campaign of 1796, &c. vol. II, chap. xii.

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Proceedings in the Congress of Rastadt—Investment of Ehrenbreitstein—Riot at Vienna—The Austrians occupy the Grisons—Exertions of France—Conduct of Paul I. Emperor of Russia—Remonstrances of France—Surrender of Ehrenbreitstein—More pressing Demands of France—War declared—State and Position of the French Armies—and of the Austrians—Jourdan crosses the Rhine—Capture of Manheim—Philipsburg invested—Further Proceedings of Jourdan—War in the Grisons—The French force the Passage of Luciensteig—and make themselves Masters of the Valley of Chur and almost all the Valley of the Rhine—Further Attempts of Massena—War in Suabia—Proceedings of the Archduke Charles—He passes the Lech—His Proclamation—its Effects—His Activity—Engagement near Ostrach—The French defeated—retreat—Battle of Stockach—gained by the Archduke—Jourdan goes to Paris—The French driven almost entirely from Suabia—Further Proceedings in the Grisons—The French repulsed at Feldkirch—their Success at Munster—Taufers, and St. Martinsbruck—The French expelled from the Frontiers of the Tyrol, where they had committed

committed barbarous and disgraceful Enormities—
 Campaign in Italy—Conduct and Force of the French—
 Macdonald commands the Army of Naples—Scherer
 that of Italy—Force of the Austrians—Temporary In-
 activity on both Sides—The French pass the Adige—
 Advance against Verona—They are defeated with
 great Slaughter, and compelled to repass the Adige—They
 retreat still further—Battle of Magnano—Further
 Success of the Austrians—Insurrection of the Italians
 against the French—They cross the Mincio—and
 blockade Peschiera and Mantua—Arrival of Melas—
 and of the Russian Auxiliaries under Marshal Suworow
 —Retreat of Scherer—The Russians beat the French
 near Cremona—Brescia taken—The French obliged to
 retreat beyond the Oglio—Scherer removed from the
 Command—which is given to Moreau—Battle of
 Cassano—The Allies enter Milan—Capture of General
 Serrurier and three thousand Men—General View of
 the Successes in this Quarter—Preparations of the
 Archduke for the Invasion of Switzerland—His Pro-
 clamation—Its Effects—He takes Schaffhausen—The
 French destroy the famous Bridge—Further Successes
 of the Archduke—his Inactivity occasioned by Intrigues
 in the Cabinet of Vienna—Further Proceedings of the
 Congress of Rastadt—The French Plenipotentiaries an-
 nounce their Intention to depart—they set out at
 nine o'Clock at Night—Bonnier and Roberjot are
 murdered—Jean de Brie wounded—Reflections—

*Conduct of the French Government on the Occasion—
Their Efforts to excite Indignation against Austria and
Great Britain.*

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1798. **W**HILE all the proceedings of France portended renewal of hostility, an appearance of pacific negotiation was maintained in the congress at Rastadt, which from its commencement was regarded by the judicious as only a farcical prelude to a bloody tragedy.

Buonaparte had not honoured this diplomatic mummery further than by assisting at the exchange of powers and ratifications of the treaty of Campo Formio; in pursuance of which, the French were immediately admitted to the possession of Mentz, and the Austrians entered Venice. These acts demonstrated that the integrity of the German empire was no longer regarded by either of the contracting parties as an object of importance, but that their views tended only to peculiar aggrandisement, without reference to the claims of right existing in favour of any other powers, or any general balance regulating the whole system of Europe. The establishment of such a conviction in the minds of observers was highly beneficial to France; since she felt no doubt of being able to retain all her incorporated conquests by force, and could never afterwards be required to resign them on principle. It was not expected on any side, that the congress of Rastadt would be able or even desirous to effect a pacific arrangement: but the emperor was glad

glad to gain time, in which he might prepare for new exertions; and the French, who had in view those acts of revolution and plunder which have been described in preceding chapters, accommodated themselves from November, 1797, till about the beginning of 1799, to the tedious forms of the imperial chancery; and played, with the utmost gravity, the part of negotiators, while their plenipotentiaries, Treilhard*, Bonnier, Roberjot, and Jean Debrie, successively shared the ridicule attending the progress of this ridiculous scene.

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This apparent condescension, so contrary to their real character, their arrogance, and their future views, was not, however, without its reward. The unimpeded invasion of Rome and Switzerland, the dethronement of the kings of Sardinia and Naples, were achieved in this interval of pretended peace; and, what is more extraordinary, the emperor permitted, during the whole time, the rigid investment of the important (and, except by famine, impregnable) fortresses of Ehrenbreitstein, without impediment or remonstrance. Perhaps his complaisance in this particular animated the directory with still more flattering hopes, and raised their ardent expectations to a revolution even in Vienna.

General Bernadotte was sent, after the treaty of

* Treilhard, as was mentioned in a preceding chapter, was moved from this situation to a seat in the directory.

CHAP. Campo Formio, to the imperial capital as embassador ;
 XXVI. and instructed, if possible, to accustom the house of
 1798. Austria to the same humiliations which were heaped
 on other crowned heads.—An opportunity soon oc-
 curred of following these orders. The people of
 Vienna having obtained from their sovereign permis-
 sion to celebrate the anniversary of the arming of their
 volunteers for defence of the country, Bernadotte
 declared that such a fête would be personally offensive
 to him ; but received for answer, that the emperor
 claimed, at least, the prerogative of licensing the
 diversions of his own subjects. The embassador
 issued orders for celebrating at his hotel, on the same
 day (the 16th of April, 1798), a fête in honour of
 the victories of France ; and, to render the insult
 more galling, exhibited before his abode a large
 tri-coloured flag with the inscription LIBERTY AND
 EQUALITY. The loyal multitude beheld the proceed-
 ing with indignation, and attempted to force the
 doors : muskets were fired by the French party, and
 several of the people killed ; but at length they rushed
 into the house, and avenged themselves by destroying
 every article of furniture it contained. The riot lasted
 five hours ; the troops would not interfere ; and the
 mob only dispersed when weary of their excesses and
 threatened by the movements of a body of cavalry.
 Bernadotte quitted Vienna, and endeavoured to in-
 terest the directory in the event ; but they were afraid
 even to publish an official statement on the subject : a
 conference

conference was, however, appointed at Sultz, where François de Neufchateau attended for the French, and count Cobentzel for the emperor; but it was publicly affirmed that their meeting tended only to projects of territorial partition, and the professed object of it was soon forgotten.

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France had obtained the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and the princes who were thus dispossessed of territory were to look for indemnity on the other side: in the treaties begun on this subject, France had the continual advantage of inflaming the jealousy of all these princes, particularly the king of Prussia, and rendering the situation of the emperor daily more delicate and difficult. In obtaining possession of Switzerland, the republic gained additional facilities for invading his hereditary dominions; but, notwithstanding his desire of temporising, the emperor, on the invitation of the inhabitants, which was easily obtained, caused part of the Grison country, the key of the Tyrol and Austria, to be occupied by his troops, and they even dislodged some French posts.

This proceeding was internally resented; but the rulers of France were not yet fully prepared for hostility, and gained other points which promoted their interest and gratified their pride. Their demands for money at home were unsuccessful; they were foiled in an attempt to impose on the country the salt-tax, or gabelle, so much inveighed against in
the

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the early parts of the revolution : and a levy of two hundred thousand conscripts (a new word for soldiers by requisition), which they had ordered in October, 1798, met with many discouraging impediments. As the situation of affairs became more critical, France reinforced her troops in the Grison country, increased those on the Lech and the Adige, and sought to strengthen her communications in every quarter where notions of amity could be considered compatible with her arrogance and injustice.

At this period a new power appeared resolutely to advance in support of the social system of Europe ; a power whose long inactivity had caused both astonishment and regret, but from whose exertions the greatest benefits were confidently presaged. On the death of Catharine II. empress of Russia *, her son and successor, Paul I., shewed an ambition to render himself celebrated, and appeared to affect a character of extraordinary liberality, virtue, and justice. While his views were not clearly discerned, and many of his acts, such as the liberation of Kosciusko, appeared favourable to their cause, the partisans of the French revolutionary principles bestowed on him every commendation ; but, in proportion as he evinced a disposition to secure his dominions from the contagion of those principles, he became exposed to all the fury of their invectives. He had viewed with anger the

* 17th November, 1796.

progress of the republic in revolutionising and conquering the fairest portion of Europe; his ardour was roused by the brilliant and honourable character maintained by England; he formed treaties with that nation for supplying sixty thousand men for the defence of the continental powers; and, declaring himself the friend of all governments except that of the jacobins, against whom he vowed endless war, offered his fleets and his soldiers to every state which was menaced by their ascendancy. Renouncing the favourite views of his mother on the Ottoman empire, his fleets crossed the Bosphorus to unite with those of the sultan; and wishing to prevent the Germanic body from concluding an ignominious peace, he sent in December, 1798, to the banks of the Danube, twenty thousand men of his choicest soldiery, with a promise of forty thousand more, led by a general to whose standard, in all the various chances of war, victory had been invariably attached.

Such was the state of affairs at the close of 1798, when durable peace was not expected by the most injudicious observers, nor could the pretence of negotiation be much further continued. The French plenipotentiaries delivered a note, declaring, that if the diet of Ratibon consented to the entrance of the Russian troops on the territory of the empire, or failed efficaciously to oppose it, the progress of the Russian army would be considered as a violation of neutrality, the negotiations

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 1799. } negotiations at Rastadt discontinued, and the republic and the empire replaced on the same footing as before the signature of the preliminaries at Leoben.

The note also contained assurances of the pacific views of France, and endeavoured to infuse jealousies of the intentions of Russia. At the same time the French addressed to the imperial minister a note to the same effect, though in terms somewhat less menacing: all which were referred to the cabinet of Vienna, which returned no categorical answer,

17th. While hostilities thus appeared inevitable, the French reaped the fruits of their artfully protracted negotiation, in the surrender of Ehrenbreitstein; the brave commander of which, colonel Fabre, was obliged to yield, after a blockade of twenty-two months, when reduced to the last extremity, and experiencing all the miseries of famine. On this event, the directory, in their usual style, instructed their plenipotentiaries to draw around the

1st Feb. emperor the circle of Popilius; and they, without delay, transmitted a note demanding a positive assurance that the Russian troops should evacuate the imperial territory, and that a silence exceeding fifteen days, or the further march of the Russians, would be considered an act of hostility.

18th. At the close of this period of delay, the elector Palatine died; an event which might possibly have produced an arrangement between the governments of Paris and Vienna, at the expence of his successor,

cessor, but the negotiations with Paul I. had proceeded to too great an extent to be retracted. The directory seem to have considered some arrangement favourable to their views still practicable, by the mild terms in which they proclaimed the necessity they were under of resuming the position required by affairs, although they were ready, if the Russian troops retreated, to replace theirs in their former situations. This attempt producing no effect, a message, in a far different style, was sent by the directory to the councils, complaining of the whole conduct of the emperor, implicating the grand duke of Tuscany, his brother, and announcing that the necessary measures were already adopted for the security of the state. The legislature immediately voted war against these two powers, amid shouts of *Vive la république!* and laws were formed for giving vigour to the recruiting by conscription, and for supplying the wants of the armies*.

When the flames of war were thus rekindled, the French had in Europe only four hundred thousand troops, including eighty thousand auxiliaries †, to contend with the emperors of Germany and Russia; to defend their frontiers and conquests from Amsterdam to Naples, a space of two thousand miles; to protect

* From Desadoards; Histoire du Directoire Exécutif; and History of the Campaigns of 1796, &c. vol. II. chap. xii.

† Consisting of Dutch, Swiss, Piedmontese, Cisalpine, Ligurians, Romans, Neapolitans, and Poles.

their

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their coasts and those of their allies, from the Texel to Bayonne; to keep in subjection forty millions of men, anxious to shake off their yoke; to defend the islands of Corfica, Malta, and Corfu; and maintain internal tranquillity in France, Holland, and the conquered countries: so that they had no more than about two hundred and fifty thousand effective men that could be spared to act in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, including forty thousand conscripts of the second and third classes, who arrived towards the end of February.

General Massena, with forty-five thousand, occupied Switzerland, and the left bank of the Rhine, almost from its source to the western extremity of the lake of Constance, and from that point both banks of the river to Basle. Between this town and Dusseldorf, sixty-five thousand men were stationed, under Jourdan, forming what was called the army of Mentz. Upon the right bank of the Rhine they occupied the fort of Kehl, and lined the left bank from the frontier of Switzerland to Mentz, whence they possessed all the country on the two banks to Dusseldorf, where was stationed a corps of twenty thousand men under Bernadotte, called the army of observation. The French, therefore, had only a hundred and ten thousand men to carry the war into Germany, to repulse the neutral army in case it should march against them, and to keep in subjection Switzerland, and all the countries between the Sarre and Moselle,

Moselle, the Roër and the Rhine. The offensive plans of the directory were the same as in 1796 and 1797; the invasion of the hereditary states, and a junction under the walls of Vienna. To accomplish the object of their ambition, it was intended that the army of observation should take possession of Philipsburg, the only fortrefs in the power of the Imperialists on the Rhine; that the army of Jourdan should cross the river, traverse the defiles of the Black Forest, extend itself into Suabia, and turn the lake of Constance and the southern part of the Tyrol; that the army of Switzerland should drive the Austrians from the country of the Grisons, attack the Tyrol in front, and seize the valleys of the Lech and the Inn; while the army of Italy should penetrate into Germany, either through the Tyrol or the Friuli. In this case, the Austrians posted upon the lake of Constance, in the county of Bregentz, and the Grisons, would have been encompassed by Jourdan and Massena; and those which defended the Italian Tyrol and the Veronese would have been hemmed in between the armies of Switzerland and Italy.

The cabinet of Vienna, rightly judging that hostilities would be commenced early in the season, accelerated the means of defence; and placing the army on the war establishment with its full complement, dispatched troops to occupy the necessary positions. The archduke Charles concentrated more than sixty thousand men upon the Lech; February.
twenty

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twenty thousand were collected in the Palatinate, in the environs of Amberg, or at Wurtzburg, under general Stzarray; a like number was stationed in the Voralberg and in the Grifons, under Hotze; and near twenty-five thousand, commanded by Bellegarde, were upon the frontiers of the Grifons and the Tyrol. The army of Italy exceeded sixty thousand strong; part of which was upon the Adige, and the remainder in the Friuli. Thus the emperor had a hundred and eighty-five thousand fighting men to oppose to the French, ninety thousand of whom were in a situation to act immediately against Jourdan and Massena.

Although the numerical advantage was on the side of the republicans, yet, in a military view, the army of the allies was greatly superior: and as the Austrians would not incur the odium of commencing hostilities, the French, hoping to raise contributions between the lake of Constance and the Mein, directed Jourdan to make a sudden irruption into Germany, without any previous declaration of war; thus violating the treaty with the emperor, the armistice with the empire, and every principle of the law of nations.

In conformity with these injunctions,
1st March. Jourdan passed the Rhine at Kehl, with the vanguard, centre, and left wing of his army; while general Ferino crossed at Huningen and Basle with the right, and plundered and over-ran that rich valley,
advancing

advancing to the foot of the mountains with which it is enclosed.

The next day, a detachment of the French army of observation obtained possession of ^{2d.} Manheim; and Bernadotte invested Philipsburg, which, in compliance with the treaty of Campo Formio, was only garrisoned with two thousand troops, commanded by the rhingrave of Salm *. The summons dispatched by Bernadotte, which, it is to be observed, was not warranted by a declaration of war, is a master-piece of insolence, atrocity, and perfidy. "Your garrison," he said, "is, to my knowledge, discontented; the officers too wise and enlightened to lavish their blood to gratify the selfishness and caprice of a few arrogant men; and the soldiers only wait the signal of attack to declare their dissatisfaction. When the inhabitants shall see that their houses are soon to become a prey to the flames, they will presently determine which side to take. The artillery of Landau, which is advancing, will furnish them with, what they have long waited for, a sufficient motive to compel their commandant to deliver up the keys. The terrible example which general Mack has given to all those who lead soldiers to battle against their will, must have afforded you ample matter for alarming reflections. But without adverting to those considerations, the army under my command has sufficient

* The same who commanded the Dutch patriots in 1788.

CHAP. means to compel the fortrefs to furrender. I cannot
XXVI. repeat often enough, general, that I will not replace

1799. a garrison in your fortrefs *as an enemy*: far from it; I mean *only to hold the place for the German empire*; and I call the world to witnefs, that I declare that I will reftore Philipsburg to the empire, as foon as the French government fhall be fatisfied that the empire can defend it againft the ambition of *the houfe of Auftria*. Should you oblige me to give orders for the affault, I am fure I cannot but fucceed; as the number of troops I have with me, and the other means I poffefs, render *it impoffible* I fhould fail. But the *punifhment* of thofe who have been the caufe of refiftance to the French republic fhall be *terrible*; nor will I *reftrain* the rage of the foldiers, who will give way to their fury againft you." To this ridiculous and barbarous fummons, the rhingrave returned a moderate and spirited answer. The garrison refuted by their conduct the infidious calumny of the French general, who, finding it more difficult to execute than to utter threats, was compelled to turn the fiege into a blockade.

2d to 6th March. The right wing of Jourdan's army, commanded by Ferino, proceeded along the valley of the Rhine, through the forest towns: the centre having divided itfelf into two columns, one of which advanced by the valley of Hell, and the other, accompanied by Jourdan and his ftaff, by the valley of Kinche, arrived on the left and right banks of the
Danube,

Danube ; while the left wing, under St. Cyr, taking the road to Kniebis, passed through Frydenstadt, traversed the duchy of Wurtemberg, and having directed part of its force towards Rothweil and part towards Tubingen, reached the Necker. While Jourdan's army had thus advanced beyond the mountains of the Black Forest, the army of observation was repairing the fortifications of Manheim, and spreading itself into the country of Hesse Darmstadt and the Palatinate.

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The Austrians were at too great a distance to impede the march of Jourdan's army ; and the duke of Wurtemberg, the only prince who could have opposed him, observed a strict neutrality. The French plenipotentiaries, during their residence at Rastadt, had endeavoured to excite revolt among his subjects, and the apprehension of their success obliged him to remain tranquil ; while the hope of detaching the petty princes from the cause of the emperor prevented the French from pursuing, for the present, the system of revolutionising. They could not, however, be deterred from extortion ; but levied all kinds of contributions in the duchy of Wurtemberg, as well as in the Brisgau and the Palatinate. Rastadt, where the congress was yet sitting, was alone declared neutral ; an instance of forbearance by which the French hoped to realise their favourite project of a partial pacification. Flattered by these first successes, the directory, with an affectation of Roman pride, changed the name of the army of Mentz to that of army of the Danube,

CHAP. XXVI. 1799. nube, and appointed Jourdan commander in chief of the three armies of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and Switzerland; Bernadotte still continuing, in subordination to him, to lead the army of the Lower Rhine, and Massena that of Switzerland.

Before he could effect a junction with Jourdan on the eastern side of the lake of Constance, Massena was compelled to encounter the Austrians, pass the Rhine in defiance of their opposition, drive them from the Grisons and the Voralberg, and force them to retreat into the Upper Tyrol. It was therefore necessary to begin his attack before the archduke could oppose the march of Jourdan and send reinforcements to the lake of Constance. The Grisons having placed themselves under the protection of Austria, a corps of six thousand men, commanded by major-general Auffenberg, occupied Chur, some posts above that town, Mayenfeld, and the fort of Luciensteig, communicating along the left bank of the Rhine with the army of general Hotze, which was part at Feldkirch and part at Bregentz, and the intermediate places. Having assembled great part of his army in the cantons of

5th. Glaris and Appenzel, Massena took post along the left bank of the Rhine, from the point where the two sources of that river unite, as far as the lake of Constance; and sent an insolent summons to Auffenberg, commanding him to evacuate the Grisons within two hours. This message was, however, no more than a perfidious subterfuge, to escape the odium

of

of commencing hostilities without notice; for before any answer could be returned, he made a general attack on the Austrian line, directing his chief efforts against the important post of Steig. The Austrians, though inferior in numbers and unprepared for the assault, had the advantage of position during the whole day; but in the evening the republicans made themselves masters of the passage and fort of Luciensteig, forded the Rhine at Hag, and cut off the communication between Hotze and Auffenberg.

They were equally successful on the ensuing day, obliging Auffenberg to retreat towards Chur, where he was taken prisoner with all his followers, and Hotze to return to Fieldkirch*.

Massena, by proclamation, declared he would evacuate the Grisons when the court of Vienna engaged to withdraw its troops; and he promised to respect personal liberty, property, and opinions, both religious and political. These delusive assurances were followed by a complete revolution, and a transfer of the government to some expelled patriots, who returning with the French general, proclaimed their factious sentiments as the wishes of the whole people of the Grisons. The general also directed a detachment from

* The loss of the Austrians during these two days was estimated at 21 pieces of cannon, and 5000 men; that of the French at 4000 killed and 700 prisoners: so that the passing of the Rhine at this point was dearly purchased, independently of the flagrant breach of faith manifested in the attempt.

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the Valteline and the Italian bailiwicks to attack the southern country of the Grisons, while he should direct his force against the Voralberg. His right wing, under Lecourbe, was to act between the two; assailing the west side of the Tyrol, into which he hoped to penetrate by the valleys of the Rhine, the Inn, and the Adige.

14th and 15th. The execution of this plan was commenced by an attack on Feldkirch; but after repeated assaults during two days, the French were obliged to retreat with so great loss, that the directory never published Massena's dispatches. Lecourbe was more successful, gaining possession of almost all the valley of the Upper and Lower Engadine, and taking many prisoners; nor were his further proceedings materially impeded by an attack which general Loudon made on the villages of Schulz and

16th and 17th. Zernetz. Desolles, after an obstinate contest of two days, drove the Austrians from the valley of Bornico; but Lecourbe was repulsed in a renewed attack on the village of St. Martinsbruck. This inequality of success retarded the general operations; and Lecourbe was obliged to assume new measures, and delay, for some days, the invasion of the Tyrol.

2d to 5th March. During these transactions, the archduke, having received, at his head-quarters near Friedberg, news of the passing of the Rhine by the French, caused his own army to pass the Lech, and take

take possession of Ulm. He encouraged his troops by a temperate and manly proclamation, which produced the happiest effects, animating every bosom with indignation against the French, and the desire of resisting their usurpations and incroachments. The sentiments and example of the archduke imparted an energetic impulse to the minds of the generals and officers. The soldier was the same as he had invariably shewn himself; brave, patient, incorruptible, never discouraged or disobedient, but still susceptible of enthusiasm. The regiments were complete, the cavalry numerous and fine, the artillery formidable, and the organisation of every part of the army more solid than ever.

While Jourdan, for some unknown reason, remained constantly stationary, his more active opponent gained possession of the line of Bregentz, Lindau, Ravensberg, Biberach, and Ulm, frustrating the first part of his plan, and rendering it impossible for him to gain the flank of the Tyrol by mere marches. At length he put his troops in motion, and, in order to concentrate the force of the armies of Helvetia and the Danube, occupied positions near Stockach; while the archduke, having brought up the main body of his army, pushed some parties as far as that place, but on meeting the French outposts they withdrew without committing hostilities. Jourdan was desirous to get between the archduke and general Hotze; the prince aimed at separating

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1799. separating Jourdan from Massena; but neither could obtain his end without fighting, and both prepared for action: Jourdan concerted a plan of attack with Massena; and the archduke, having sent reinforcements to Hotze, went in person to inspect his position, and strengthened his communication.

17th. Notwithstanding the hostilities already committed in the Grisons, the French still affected to entertain no view but that of occupying positions of safety; and Jourdan wrote to the archduke, stating the instructions he had received to enter Suabia, and announcing his intention to overcome resistance by force. Two days afterwards he was in-

19th. formed of the declaration of war, which had been promulgated on the 13th, and lost no time in disposing his army in order of battle, preparatory to an attack. The archduke

20th. entertained sentiments exactly correspondent; for having communicated Jourdan's last letter to his officers, and expatiated on the numerous instances of hostility and breach of faith of which the French had been guilty, he declared no answer should be given to it but from the mouth of the cannon, and prepared for action on the ensuing day. He was not therefore surprised when Jourdan announced to prince Schwarzenberg, who commanded part of the Austrian vanguard, the termination of the armistice.

21st. Although Jourdan intended to attack, he was anticipated by the celerity of the Austrian prince;

prince; who, moving forward before day-break, and overthrowing his advanced posts, gained the heights and bridge of Ostrach after a stubborn resistance, and compelled the centre of the French to fall back to Pfullendorf, the right to Palmensweiler, and the left to retreat along the Danube, gaining a position in the same line. The archduke would have renewed the attack, but was prevented by night; but this first onset was considered of the highest importance, both as a presage of future success and as tending materially to check the designs of the republicans: their loss was calculated at three thousand; that of the Austrians, on account of the difficulty of forcing the positions at Ostrach, was not less than two.

Aware that his new situation was not sufficiently strong, Jourdan did not wait for the intended attack of the archduke, but retired in the night towards Stockach, and subsequently established his right at Hohen-Tweil, his centre in front of Engen, where he had his head-quarters, and his left on the heights of Tuttlingen, near the Danube. The Imperialists pursued; and, after several successful skirmishes, occupied a well-chosen though in some respects defective position, in the rear of Stockach. While the archduke was employing judicious efforts to render his situation more tenable, Jourdan was preparing to take advantage of its defects, and hoped to repair, by a decisive victory, the effects of those disasters

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XXVI.afters which had prevented his junction with Massena
beyond the lake of Constance.

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25th.

Having formed his plan for a vigorous attack, Jourdan divided his army into three columns ; and at day-break assailed the Imperialists at Steizlingen, Aach, and Lyptingen. General St. Cyr began the action, by defeating, at the latter post, general Meerfield's vanguard, and obliging it to fall back as far as the woods in front of Stockach ; while the other divisions attacked with equal spirit, though not equally conspicuous effect. The archduke, who was reconnoitring in the village of Aach, made arrangements for defence in other quarters ; and proceeded himself with reinforcements to support the principal position near Stockach, where the French were attacking his right with more than twenty thousand men, while another column was endeavouring to turn it by Mæskirch, and to cut off its communication with Pfullendorf. Victory here seemed almost within their grasp ; they had penetrated to the extremity of the wood, and nothing remained but to dislodge the Imperialists from some heights which they still occupied. To extricate himself from this critical situation, the archduke caused vigorous attacks to be made at the same time on the right and left sides of the road of Tutlingen. The prince of Furstemberg, whilst bravely conducting the second attack in the midst of a most deadly fire, was killed by a grape-shot, and colonel prince Anhalt Bernburg was mortally wounded.

wounded. The commanders were replaced by general Stupfchütz, who was also wounded, and by prince Anhalt Coethen, who, dismounting from his horse, offered to lead the infantry to the charge. The excellence of the new dispositions made by the archduke, and the heroism of some regiments, stopped for a while the progress of the French; who retreated occasionally, only however to return with additional fury to the charge. The infantry of the two armies struggled for a long time with unspeakable obstinacy, and the carnage was great on both sides. Still victory remained undecided, till the archduke caused some battalions of grenadiers, which had just arrived from the left wing, to make an attack upon the left of the Tutlingen road. These battalions, advancing through a shower of grape-shot to the point of the wood occupied by the French, took them in flank, and made a demi-brigade prisoners. This vigorous and well-timed movement, supported by the co-operation of the columns already engaged, decided the day in favour of the Imperialists. In vain did several regiments of cavalry make a tardy charge; they were received with intrepidity by the grenadiers, and recharged in their turn by two regiments of Imperial cuirassiers, which put them to the rout. The French, driven from the wood, gave way on all sides, and were pursued upon the road to Lyptingen till night.

While thus victory was snatched, though with difficulty, from the centre of the republican army, the column

CHAP. column under the orders of general Vandamme (de-
 XXVI. tached on the left), which had advanced to Mæskirch

1799. with the design of turning the right of the Austrians and seizing their reserve of artillery, had been vigorously repulsed by the prince of Wirtemberg, after having possessed itself of the villages of Millingen and Dentwangen, and only escaped certain destruction by crossing the Danube, over the bridge of Sigmaringen.

The right of the republican army was not ultimately more successful. It had begun by taking possession of the villages of Steizlingen and Lentzingen; but in spite of several vigorous attacks, made first upon Nellenberg and again upon the village of Wallenweis, it could make no impression on the Austrian position, and was held in check the whole day by general Staader, who commanded that wing of the Imperialists. Night also, upon this point, put an end to the battle, which had lasted along the whole line from break of day with unexampled obstinacy, and great loss to each of the armies. The night was passed on both sides nearly upon the same ground which had been occupied before the battle. On this circumstance Jourdan founded a pretence of having gained a victory, and supported his assertion by exaggerated accounts of the loss of the Austrians and palliated statements of his own*. He found himself, after a few

* He asserted that the Austrians had lost 4000 men taken prisoners, and 7000 killed and wounded; while on his side the slain, wounded,

a few ineffectual attempts, obliged to retreat to the valleys of Hell and Kinche, and the defiles of the Black Forest. Even from these he was expelled by the persevering efforts of the Austrians under the archduke and general Stzarray, who joined him with fifteen thousand men. Jourdan was embarrassed, not only by his want of skill to conduct a retreat, but by the misunderstandings prevailing between him and his inferior generals : he therefore repaired to Paris, under pretence of re-establishing his health ; published an angry narrative of the late transactions ; and threw himself into the arms of the Jacobins, the common resource of republican malcontents.

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to 2d April.

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On the day of his departure, the French camp was surpris'd at noon, and the Austrians had nearly possess'd themselves of the headquarters. Ernouf, who was Jourdan's successor, immediately began a further retreat, and in a few days Suabia was almost entirely freed from the invaders ; who, after having remained six weeks in Germany, were driven back nearly to their former situation. The archduke, having shewn himself worthy of victory by his valour, shewed himself capable of deriving the utmost advantages from it by his moderation. He forbore to seek empty glory, by an intemperate pursuit

3d to 7th.

wounded, and captives, did not exceed 3000. The fact is, that the Austrians did not lose more than 4500, nor the French less than 6000.

of

CHAP. of the retreating foe, but remained with the greater
 XXVI. part of his force near the lake of Constance; rightly
 1799. judging, that if he abandoned that point, and ad-
 vanced into the Brisgau, his left and rear would be
 exposed to the incursions of Massena. He duly ap-
 preciated the value of Switzerland, either to himself
 or his opponents; and therefore made judicious and
 vigorous preparations for gaining possession of that im-
 portant country.

The operations in the Grisons intended to forward
 the general plan were not conducted with more even-
 tual success than those in Suabia. Massena employed
 his greatest efforts to drive the Austrians from the Vo-
 ralberg; and the movement of general Hotze towards
 Bregentz and Lindau, which was rendered necessary
 by the advance of Jourdan, having left for the de-
 fence of Feldkirch only six thousand regulars sup-
 ported by some companies of Tyrolian volunteers
 and peasants from the grand levy, general
 22d March. Oudinot seized a height which flanked the
 left of the position of Feldkirch, and endeavoured to
 establish a battery, but was prevented by the Austrian
 artillery and by general Jellachich, who attacked
 him, sword in hand, and drove him from his post.

The next day, the attack was renewed with
 23d. undiminished vigour and augmented forces;
 but although Feldkirch was assailed at the same mo-
 ment on every side, the French were obliged, not
 only to relinquish the attempt, but to repass the
 Rhine,

Rhine, with the loss of three thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

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Foiled in these endeavours to penetrate into the north of the Tyrol, the French considered it additionally necessary for their right wing to force its way into the west of that province. Desolles there-^{25th and}fore marched against Munster and Taufers, ^{26th.} and Lecourbe against the post of St. Martinsbruck: both were completely successful, and the Austrians, attacked on their right from Innthal and on their left from Munsterthal by superior forces, and turned at the same time by a French column which got upon their rear, could not, by the most vigorous resistance, maintain any part of their line, or even effect their retreat: the greater part fell into the hands of their opponents; while the rest, after crossing over mountains covered with snow, full of precipices, and considered impassable, effected their escape. Lecourbe was thus master of Nauders, and Desolles of Glurens, which was reduced to ashes. In these two days the Austrians lost, on the most moderate calculation, three thousand five hundred men and twenty-five pieces of cannon.

The French were now masters of two principal entrances into the Tyrol, which province was at the same time threatened by their army in Italy. Reinforcements were sent to the Winstchgau, under general Bellegarde; and the people of the Tyrol, with loyal alacrity, rose *en masse*, and the companies of volunteer

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lunteer rangers were sent to the frontier. The French pushed on one side as far as Landek, on the other a little beyond Glurenz; and these were the limits of their conquests. The difficulties of the season, the scarcity of provisions, the arming of the people, and the ill success of Jourdan in Suabia and of Scherer in Italy, rendered their position insecure. The Austrians,

30th. threatening to penetrate into the valley of Munster on the rear of Desolles and cut off his retreat, obliged him to abandon the posts of St.

Mals and Glurenz, and fall back on Tauters and

4th April. Sainte Marie: Bellegarde did not give him

time to complete entrenchments in his new position, but, by a spirited attack, drove him, after a most vigorous resistance, to Bornio and Zernetz.

This conflict was remarkably sanguinary; great numbers fell on each side, and most of the officers were killed or wounded. The French lost general Petroni, chief of Lecourbe's staff, who died of his wounds in the hands of the Austrians, five hundred

5th. prisoners, and three pieces of cannon. After this day's success, an attack by the Tyrolese

volunteers on the post which Lecourbe had been obliged to assume at St. Martinsbruck sufficed to expel the French from the Tyrol, where their short stay had been distinguished by the most disgraceful excesses. They profaned the churches, insulted the women, distressed the inhabitants in general by every kind of bad treatment, wasted the fields, pillaged the

houses,

houses, and even reduced several villages to ashes. They meant to punish, but only augmented the attachment of the Tyrolese for their lawful sovereign, and the hatred which they had sworn to the French name. General Bellegrade formed judicious plans for co-operating with the Imperial armies in Italy, and driving the French from the Grisons; but his present operations were reduced to slight exploits and partial movements. The snow, rendered unstable by the advance of the season, no longer permitted the secure progress of troops, and therefore no effectual attack could be made on the valley of the Grisons.

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The campaign in Italy had not commenced at so early a period as in other quarters. The French possessed the whole of that fine country (excepting part of the state of Venice, ceded to the emperor by the treaty of Campo Formio), the duchy of Parma, Tuscany, and nearly half of the kingdom of Naples. They were actively employed in reducing the inhabitants of the southern parts to the same degraded condition as the northern, by despoiling their territory and corrupting their principles. Their force consisted of about eighty thousand French soldiers, and more than fifty thousand Poles, Swiss, Piedmontese, Genoese, Romans, and Neapolitans, dispersed from the frontier of Piedmont to that of Calabria. These were divided into two bodies; one of which, called the army of Italy and composed of ninety thousand men, occupying

CHAP. occupying the Modenese, the Milanese, the Valteline,
 XXVI. and the countries of Brescia, Bergamo, and Mantua,
 1799. could only spare fifty thousand to be employed in
 active operations. It was in cantonments on the banks
 of the lake of Garda, the Mincio, and the Po, from
 the frontier of Tyrol to the mouth of the last-men-
 tioned river.

The remaining forty thousand formed the army of
 Naples; occupying the capital and conquered part of
 his Sicilian majesty's dominions, Rome, and the states
 of the church. Though opposed by no regular troops,
 it had, on one side, to guard against the population
 of Naples: and, on another, to combat the inhabit-
 ants of Calabria, Basilicata, Tarentese, Puglia, and,
 in a word, of all the provinces situated to the south and
 east of these, Abruzza, and Benevento; who, guided
 by faithful subjects, and principally led by cardinal
 Ruffo, at once a priest, a politician, and a warrior,
 had taken arms in favour of their lawful sovereign.
 On a third side, the same army had to defend itself
 against the insurrections in a great part of the states of
 the church, which were often checked, but never
 totally suppressed.

An insatiable thirst of plunder distinguished both
 these armies; they had lost all spirit of discipline, and
 officers and soldiers thought only of enriching them-
 selves, not the republic, by daily extortions and op-
 pressions. Championet, for endeavouring to render
 these disorders less licentious and more systematic,

was

was deprived of his command of the army of Naples, recalled into France, threatened by a council of war with the loss of his head, and replaced by Macdonald, who suffered no scruples to interfere with the despotism of the directory, the pride of the proconsuls, and the resolute insubordination of the troops. A similar change, and nearly for the same reasons, was effected in the army of Italy, where Joubert was displaced, and the command given to Scherer.

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The Austrian army occupied the line of the Adige parallel to that of the French army of Italy, extending from the Italian Tyrol beyond Rovigo. About thirty thousand men were distributed along this line; while the army of reserve, consisting of about the same number, was cantoned in the Trevisano, Friuli, and Carniola. All these troops were under the orders of lieutenant-general Kray until general Melas should come to take the chief command.

From this statement of the respective forces and positions, it appears that the French had a vast superiority in point of number; but that the Austrians had their forces concentrated upon a short line, and could not be attacked but on that line; while the French and their auxiliaries, scattered over the surface of Italy, from the foot of the Alps to the gulphs of Naples and Manfredonia, had constantly to keep in subjection, and often to combat, a population of above ten millions; and were obliged to guard the coasts of the Mediterranean and of the Adriatic, upon which hostile troops might at any time be landed from

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1799. the English, Russian, and Turkish fleets, which held the dominion of the two seas; blocked up the forts of Corfu, Ancona, and Malta; and frequently appeared before those of Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, and Naples. It may then be said that the Austrians, concentrated in a good position, having their left upon the Adriatic and their right upon the Alps, communicating with the army of the Tyrol, from which they could receive succours, and having only to oppose the enemy in their front, possessed a relative superiority.

Feb. and
March. Although it had been obvious from the beginning of the year that war was inevitable, and both sides had been preparing for hostilities, neither would commence them till some events, affecting the armies in the Grisons and Suabia, were ascertained. The infraction of the treaty of Campo Formio by the French, who sent an armed boat down the Po, the crossing of the Rhine by Jourdan, and the unexpected attack of Massena on the Grisons, did not form the signal for hostilities in Italy. General Kray had orders to act only on the defensive: half his army was far behind the line; though on receiving orders to quit the Friuli and neighbour-
12th March. ing hereditary provinces, they marched with promptitude and celerity to the Adige. Scherer was deterred from opening the campaign, either because his preparations were not complete, because war was not declared, or more probably because the progress of the other generals was not yet sufficient to justify

justify him in attempting to break through the line of the Adige and drive the Austrians behind the Brenta, and even, if possible, out of Italy. If this extensive project should fail, they hoped at least to surround and conquer the Tyrol, which is at once the key of Germany and Italy, and the rampart of the hereditary states.

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Both parties employed the interval of inactivity in making preparations and gaining intelligence. At length the armies of the Danube and Switzerland having gained the positions which were judged most favourable to the operations of that of Italy, it was formed in six divisions, consisting of forty-five thousand men, and marched against the principal positions of the Austrians. The left, composed of three divisions, under Massena, and supported by an armed flotilla on the lake of Garda, drove the Imperialists from the heights between that lake and the Adige; carried the intrenched camp of Pastrengo; and, passing the Adige at Polo, spread themselves on the left bank, both towards Verona and the Tyrol, cutting the line by which the Austrians maintained the communication from the Upper to the Lower Adige. The centre was composed of two divisions and a *corps de reserve*, led by Scherer in person, and animated to vigorous exertion by a promise of the pillage of Verona. They were resisted with great spirit and judgment by general Kaim; and, at the close of a hard-fought day, no material advantage

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resulted to them from the attack. The remaining division, which composed the right of the French army, was ordered to take and burn Legnano; but the brave resistance made by the Austrians afforded time for the arrival of the troops of reserve from Bevilaqua, when Kray in turn became the assailant, and put the republicans to the rout, with the loss of two thousand men killed and wounded, six hundred prisoners, and much ammunition. The greatness of the slaughter is in part imputed to the indignation of the Austrian soldiery, who, having surrounded a corps called the Polish legion of Dombrowsky, but composed, in fact, almost entirely of deserters from their own army, remained obstinately deaf to the merciful commands of their officers, and put all the traitors to death.

This success would have enabled Kray to advance immediately against Mantua, but the progress of the French on other sides obliged him to send reinforcements towards Verona; and, after some partial attacks, both parties agreed to a suspension of arms for the purpose of burying their dead, who, having lain on the field since the 26th, began to infect the air.

30th. Two hours before the expiration of this truce, ten thousand men, under Serrurier, having passed the Adige by the bridges of Polo, forced the Austrian posts on the left bank, and advanced till within half a league of Verona; while another column endeavoured to gain the heights which flanked the right of the Austrians and the road of Vicenza, upon which general

Kray

Kray had wisely posted his reserve, or, more properly speaking, the main body of the army. This general took from it seven battalions and two regiments of cavalry, formed them into three columns, and sent them, one along the Adige, another on the road from Verona to Roverdo, and the third towards the heights on which the French were forming: the latter were already come as far as Parona, within half a league of Verona. At that moment of so much danger for that town, the three Austrian columns came up with the enemy, and attacked them with such spirit that they could not resist, but were obliged to retire towards their bridge, which was full three leagues distant. The Austrians following them very closely, the retreat was nothing but continued fighting. The French conducted it for a long time in good order; but when the left Austrian column saw that they approached the bridge, two battalions of grenadiers were detached from it with the greatest rapidity along the river, who, without firing, and using only the bayonet, overcame all resistance, and seized the head of the bridge; and thus all those who had not already passed were cut off. The republicans, fearing pursuit, hastened to break down the end of the bridge; while the Austrians did the same on their side. The French column which had been sent by the mountains, and which had more ground to traverse in order to arrive at the bridge, was entirely cut off; a part of it immediately laid down its arms, and the rest, in endeavouring

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vouring to escape across the mountains, were likewise almost all taken : two thousand men fell into the hands of the Austrians, and the French lost all the local advantages they had gained on the 26th.

1st April. Scherer, abandoning all hopes of penetrating by the Upper Adige, quitted the posts he occupied between the river and the lake of Garda ; and, having garrisoned Pefchiera, occupied with his left and centre a position beyond the Tartaro, between Villa-Franca and Isola della Scala, where he placed his head-quarters, his right being before Legnano. The Austrians pushed on to Castelnovo, and encamped on the right bank of the river, before Verona and on the road to Villa Franca. These few days cost the French more than ten thousand men killed, wounded, captured, or deserted ; and the Austrians half that number. So much was the French army

2d. discouraged, that a hundred and ninety republican soldiers and twenty-three officers laid down their arms at Villa Franca, before seventeen Austrian light-horse-men. The desertion too was very great, especially among the Swiss and Piedmontese whom the French had incorporated into their army after having disbanded that of the king of Sardinia ; every day they arrived in small bands at the Austrian advanced posts.

Several slight skirmishes occupied the ensuing days, which were all favourable to the Austrians ; when general Scherer, alarmed by the increasing dangers
of

of his position, and knowing that twenty-three thousand republican auxiliaries were expected speedily to arrive, resolved on making a new effort to drive the Imperialists beyond the Adige, and to establish himself on the other side of that river. At the same period, general Kray had formed a project for forcing the French to cross the Mincio. Both armies ^{5th.} marching on the same day to execute their respective plans, encountered each other at ten o'clock in the morning, and commenced a furious contest, which did not terminate till six in the evening. The French mustered only 36,000 men, while the Austrians had 45,000; but for the first two hours the republicans had every appearance of success, and gained ground on all sides. The Austrians, however, judiciously brought their reserve, which consisted of ten thousand men, into action, and finally put their opponents to flight in every direction; pursuing them for the space of nine miles, gaining seventeen pieces of cannon and near three thousand prisoners, and killing and wounding three thousand five hundred men. The loss of the victors in slain and wounded amounted to two thousand five hundred. At the termination of the day general Kray established a line of observation from Lecco almost to Veleggio, and obtained possession of the fortified camp at Magnano, from which the battle takes its name.

Disheartened as well as enfeebled by this conflict, general Scherer, continuing to retreat, concentrated his army between Mantua and Goito, and speedily passed the

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7th. the Mincio, throwing a reinforcement into Pefchiera. The Auftrian vanguard pushed on to Valeggio, and feized the bridge over the Mincio; while general Klenau funk or took the French armed and provifion boats on the Po, and gained poffeffion of the countries of Oftiglia and Governolo, cutting off all communication between Mantua and the Lower Po, carrying off eighteen thoufand mufkets intended for the garrifon, and making feveral hundred prifoners. The people of Italy, hailing the fuccefs of the Imperialifts as the moment of redemption, cut down the trees of liberty, abjured all revolutionary infignia, and compelled the French troops difperfed about the country to fhut themfelves up in Ferrara and Bologna. At the other extremity of the line of the Imperial army, general Wuckaffowich drove the French from the valley of the Chiefa, from the two shores of the lake of Idro, and took poffeffion of the important defile of Rocca d'Aufo, which opened the entrance of the Brefcian, and placed him in the rear of the republican army. Thefe threatening circumftances induced Scherer to quit the Mincio, and leave Pefchiera and Mantua to their fate.

10th. When Kray had brought the affairs of his army to this prosperous ftate, general Melas arrived to affume the command, and fent his vanguard over the Mincio to occupy the approaches to Pefchiera, while on the left Klenau pushed on to the vicinity of Mantua. Melas was not yet, however, fufficiently
 ftrong

1799.

strong to advance his main body beyond the Mincio and blockade those two fortresses; but was soon relieved from his embarrassment by the arrival of the Russians at Verona. He then lost no time in passing the river, and while encamped near Campagnola was joined by the Russian army and by marshal Suworow, who assumed the chief command of the troops of the two emperors, amounting to sixty thousand men, besides the corps detached on their flanks.

13th.

16th.

Suworow had already established an exalted character for military genius and activity, and was known to entertain the most ardent desire to lead the troops of his country against the French. He lost no time in inaction, but having allotted near twenty thousand men to the blockades of Peschiera and Mantua, which were soon to be regularly besieged, and committed the charge of those attempts to the brave and judicious general Kray, he made prudent provision for preventing all assaults which might impede his progress, and set forward in pursuit of the republicans.

Far from taking advantage of the pause made by the Austrians while expecting the Russians to intrench himself on the Chiesà and the Oglio, Scherer continued his retreat, passing the Adda, while his right approached Brescia by an oblique movement. The allies pursued him step by step, and in an action near Cremona, where the Russians first coped with the

15th.

19th.

29th.

French,

CHAP. French, the rear-guard of the latter was defeated
 XXVI. with the loss of four hundred prisoners. This
 1799. 21st. event was followed by the capture of Brescia,

which yielded to the united troops after a delay of six hours: the assailants lost only one artillery-man, and acquired forty-four pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of warlike stores and provisions. These advantages, which were vigorously pursued, enabled the allies to drive their opponents from the Oglio; and a detached corps, under colonel Strauch, having gained possession of the heads of the valleys on the two slopes of the great Alps, at once secured the left flank of the Swiss army and the right flank of the army of Italy, and turned those of the two armies of the French in the same countries. The divisions under general Desolles being obliged to give aid to Scherer's army instead of receiving assistance from it, that division was unable to maintain the excellent position presented by the space which separates the valleys of the Upper Oglio and of the Upper Adda, and was obliged to fall back upon the latter, which in a short time it also abandoned.

Encouraged by these events, the people of Italy gave way to the sentiments of hatred and revenge against their oppressors, and, rising in military array, compelled them to take refuge in garrison towns. The communications and supplies of the republicans were endangered, and Scherer found himself still obliged to retreat, that he might concentrate his troops,

troops, secure the fortified places of Piedmont, and meet the reinforcements expected from Switzerland and France. Although this general was in no considerable degree blameable for the reverses he had sustained, his conduct was severely censured by government: he was deprived of his command, and Moreau nominated his successor; and the army of Naples was directed to evacuate that country, and unite with the troops on the banks of the Adda.

When Moreau obtained the command, reinforcements from Piedmont, Genoa, and France, had raised his numbers to about thirty thousand; but although the force of his opponents nearly doubled his own, he would not precipitately abandon his position, hoping, by a judicious delay of a few days, to allow time for the fortified places of Piedmont and the Appenines to be put in a state of defence.

The allies, having passed the Oglio, reached the banks of the Adda, and encamped opposite Cassano and Vaprio, with a column between Brivio and Lecco. Two days were spent in repose, or in partial actions to amend the position, previous to a grand exploit which Suworow had in contemplation. The French were placed in front of the allies; the head-quarters of Moreau being at Inzago; the *tête de pont* at Cassano strongly intrenched and protected by artillery, riflemen, and batteries; the right wing guarding the rest of the course of the Adda, with its principal force at Lodi and Pizzighitone. Suworow found

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found it necessary to force this line, in order to conquer the Milanese; by his directions, therefore, general Wuckaffowich seized and repaired a flying bridge which the French had not completely destroyed, and crossing the river with four battalions and two squadrons, took a position at Brivio. On the centre, the quarter-master-general, the marquis de Chasteller, with equal intrepidity and judgment, threw a bridge over the river opposite Trezzo; and the light troops, having crossed before the republicans were aware of the movement, fell on Serrurier's division, and repulsed it to Pozzo. The noise of this attack drew general Grenier to the spot, and a battle ensued, in which the allies were nearly overpowered by numbers, till reinforcements passing the river turned the fortune of the day; and the French, after rallying several times, were driven with great loss to Gorgonzello. Melas, having thrown a bridge over the Ritorto and possessed himself with little difficulty of the *tête de pont* at Cassano, passed the Adda, and joined Suworow at Gorgonzello; from which place the republicans had retreated towards Milan, secure from pursuit only through the darkness of the night and fatigue of their opponents.

28th.

On the morrow, general Melas, whose troops were less exhausted than the Russians, marched without opposition to Milan; the inhabitants of which immediately tore down the republican colours, and received with prostrate homage the Imperial

rial

rial eagle. Suworow arrived the same night with all his staff, and the modest privacy of his entrance formed a noble contrast to the ostentatious arrogance displayed in the same place by Buonaparte. Besides the glory and advantage of recapturing the capital of the Austrian monarchy in Italy, another consequence followed from the engagement of the 27th, which is somewhat improperly called the battle of Cassano. General Wuckassowich, by surprising the passage of the Adda at Brivio, had cut off the line of communication between the centre and left of the French. On the ensuing day he proceeded to encounter general Serrurier, who, with three thousand men, was strongly entrenched at Verderio. One attack was unsuccessful; but the Austrians having made preparations to surround the French corps and batter in every direction, Serrurier capitulated, and the whole force yielded themselves prisoners of war. The brave old general *, however, obtained for himself and his officers permission to retire to France, on condition of not serving again till exchanged.

The battle of Cassano, and the actions it produced upon the Upper Adda, cost the republicans five thousand men made prisoners, amongst whom was a

* This excellent officer preserved under the republican standard that sense of honour which had raised him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel under the old government: he kept himself so pure in the midst of the extortions committed by the other generals, that he was called the *virgin of the army*.

general,

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general, besides four thousand killed and wounded. The loss of the allies, under the different heads, amounted at least to two thousand five hundred. They took thirty-two pieces of cannon on the field of battle, and a much greater number at Milan. It is remarkable in this series of events, that the Imperialists fought for the safety of Verona under its walls on the 26th, and even on the 30th of March; and that in eight-and-twenty days they were established in Milan, having in the interval invested two fortresses, forced the passage of a river lined with intrenchments, obtained two brilliant victories, killed or wounded more than fifteen thousand men, made a like number of prisoners, and taken more than a hundred pieces of cannon. A single month had produced to them a mass of trophies and advantages, which in other times would alone have constituted a happy result of a campaign, and even, as to territory, of a whole war.

While these events confirmed the ascendancy of the allies in Italy, the archduke Charles, after disconcerting the plans of the republican generals, secured Suabia from a new invasion by a chain of posts along the valley of the Rhine to near the Neckar, endeavoured to form magazines for the subsistence of his troops, and directed all his efforts towards the invasion of Switzerland. When arrived on

30th March.

the frontiers of Schaffhausen, he addressed a prudent, frank, and explicit proclamation to the people, disavowing all intentions of dismembering or plundering

plundering the country, and promised on behalf of the emperor the maintenance of the ancient friendly connection with the cantons, and the preservation to Switzerland of her independence, her privileges, and her possessions. This address, besides the great object of tranquillising the people with respect to the views of Austria, was calculated to prevent them from arming in behalf of the French, who had ordered a compulsory levy of eighteen thousand men. His expectations were not disappointed; the enrolments never exceeding one-third of the number required, and insurrections breaking out in several cantons, particularly those most remote from France. The domineering republic, though able to procure from the new government of Helvetia a decree for inrolling all unmarried men from twenty to forty-five, and all married who were under thirty years of age, could not obtain a declaration of war against the emperor.

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Many concurring circumstances, and, among them, the feeble state of the archduke's health, did not permit him to begin a general invasion of Switzerland; but he surrounded the town of Schaffhausen, and, the commander refusing to capitulate, 13th April, forced the gates, and compelled the French to repass the Rhine with the loss of several hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides seventeen pieces of cannon. In their retreat the republicans, with wanton barbarism, unnecessarily destroyed the famous

CHAP. XXVI. mous bridge of Schaffhausen, that wonderful monu-
ment of untaught genius *, although the Austrians

1799.

14th.

offered a capitulation by which it might have been spared. The next day the French were driven from Peterhausen, opposite to Constance; and that place was also summoned and bombarded, though without immediate effect: the Austrians, however, in a few days obtained the posts of Stein and Eglifau; and the Rhine, from Bregentz to Basle, became the line of division between the armies.

The remainder of the month passed in almost entire inaction, produced on the side of the archduke partly by military, but still more by political, reasons. To the disgrace of his country, he had enemies at Vienna, more active and more formidable than at Paris; and their intrigues were so far successful, that he had nearly been deprived of the command: and this cause combined with others in preventing those exertions which would have enabled him to follow his career of success, and turn to advantage the present disposition of the oppressed people of Switzerland. The French were also inactive, in consequence of their losses. Massena, who, after Jourdan had retired, was first appointed *ad interim*, and afterwards finally, to the chief command of the army of the Danube, including those of observation and of Switzerland, repaired to Strasburg to regulate the organisation

* See Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, vol. I. p. 7.

and movement of his troops, and while preparing for reinforcements fixed his head-quarters at Basse *. CHAP. XXVI.

During these transactions the French plenipotentiaries remained at Rastadt, although their motives could not easily be ascertained: at length they received orders to retire to Strasburg, and invite all the ministers of princes of the empire, who were willing to conclude separate treaties with the republic, to attend them. Their retreat was more urgent, as the communication with the left bank of the Rhine was interrupted by the hussars of Szeckler, who had cut the communication of the bridge of boats. The French ministers therefore declared, by an official note, their intention of departing in three days; and baron d'Albini, the directorial minister at Mentz, wrote to colonel Barbaczy, who was posted at Gersbach, demanding safe conduct for the plenipotentiaries. An answer was returned to this demand at seven o'clock in the evening of the day they had fixed for their departure, and it merely advised them to quit Rastadt in four-and-twenty hours. They observed to the Hungarian officer who delivered it that no notice was taken of their safety, and received for answer that a doubt on that point was an insult to the Au-

1799.

19th April.

25th April.

29th.

* From History of the Campaigns of 1796, &c. vols. III. and IV.; and an anonymous work published periodically at Hamburgh, entitled *Precis des Evenemens Militaires*, a translation of which is published by Egerton, London.

CHAP. strian army. 'At the same moment four hundred
 XXVI. huffars of Szeckler entered the city, occupying all the
 1790. posts and guarding the gates, with orders to prevent
 all ingrefs and egress. The French plenipotentiaries,
 having fixed that very day for their departure,
 thought it beneath their dignity to delay, and there-
 fore applied for leave to proceed, which at nine
 o'clock they obtained. When they had reached the
 distance of five hundred paces from Raftadt, about
 threescore men, in the dress of Szeckler huffars, on
 foot and on horseback, rushed from a wood and
 stopped the carriages. Jean Debrie was beaten and
 wounded with sabres, but protected by the thickness
 of his clothing; and deluding the assailants by coun-
 terfeiting death, he had the good fortune to save his
 life, and, after wandering some time in the fields,
 returned to Raftadt. Bonnier and Roberjot were
 killed, the carriages plundered, and their papers
 thrown into the river; but the wives and adherents
 of the plenipotentiaries were left at liberty to return
 in their carriages to the place from which they had
 just departed.

Such is the account of this extraordinary affair, ex-
 tracted from the narrative of Jean Debrie himself;
 but the opinion of mankind has been much divided
 respecting the criminals. The French had begun the
 war under unfavourable auspices, and did not find,
 even in their own country, that enthusiasm which
 they had been accustomed to consider as the har-
 binger

binge of success. No motive of public spirit could be adduced to animate the people, and therefore it was necessary to inflame their passions by some pretext of injustice and violence; and none could be so effectual as that of injury and indignity offered to the ministers of peace, and in repugnance to the law of nations. Reasoning on this principle, some writers infer that the assassination was a French plot, in which Jean Debrie was an accomplice with the directory, and Roberjot and Bonnier were compelled to act the character which Chabot and Grangeneuve had rehearsed, but not performed, in July, 1792*. This reasoning reconciles circumstances otherwise absurd, and accounts for the long delay of the ministers where no further benefit could be expected from their exertions, for their departure at night, and for the slight injury sustained by Jean Debrie, which did not even prevent his travelling in less than four-and-twenty hours; while his unfortunate colleagues were, as he affirmed, absolutely cut to pieces. If the crime had really been committed by the hussars of Szeckler, a slight search would have soon discovered some of the valuables they had taken; nor could sixty men have been expected to be so uniformly secret in such an act of villany but that offers of pardon and promises of reward would have produced disclosures.

The French directory and legislative bodies made

* See Roland's Appeal to impartial Posterity, vol. I. p. 141.

CHAP. use of this incident in the manner which was naturally
XXVI. expected. Furious declamations followed the mes-

1799. sage announcing it; Jean Debrie related his adventures in a style which produced much ridicule on the subject of his impenetrable coat; the seats in the hall of the council which belonged to Roberjot and Bonnier were not to be filled by new elections, but kept perpetually vacant, to revive the memory of their fate; the legislative body denounced to all governments the massacre of the two plenipotentiaries, ordered by the cabinet of Vienna, and executed by the Austrian troops; and every army and fleet was to receive a tri-coloured banner, with an inscription invoking vengeance to appease the manes of Roberjot and Bonnier. These sentiments were reinforced by proclamations, addresses, a grand funeral ceremony, and all the other arts of the French government; but even in Paris it was not easy to make those who reflected believe that a mighty emperor, with vast armies in the field, engaged in bonds of faith with powerful allies, and successful on every side, would disgrace his own character and shake their adherence by a flagrant crime, attended with no prospect of advantage: for of what consequence, either in war or peace, could be the existence of two individuals so obscure and insignificant as messieurs Roberjot and Bonnier? If these arguments applied strongly to the acquittal of the emperor, they gained force and were augmented by many additional reasons when the French govern-
ment

ment charged Great Britain as an accomplice, or rather principal, in this supposed crime. The iniquity and folly of this charge were so obvious, that even Frenchmen heard with ridicule the passionate declamations with which it was enforced, and sneered at the vote of the council of five hundred ordaining that, in order to keep perpetually alive the spirit of vengeance, every orator should conclude his speech with the sentence *Delenda est Carthago* *.

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* From Desadeards; Histoire du Directoire Executif; and History of the Campaigns of 1796, &c.

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Operations in the Grisons—Generals Bellegarde and Haddick drive General Lecourbe from his Intrenchments—and from the Lower Engadine—Failure of General Hotze at Luciensteig—Measures taken by Bellegarde to remedy its Effects—A second Attempt crowned with complete Success—The French driven from the Grisons—They retreat from the Eastern Parts of Switzerland—General Hotze and the Archduke cross the Rhine—Attempt to form a Junction—A Part of their Force defeated by Massena—who is nevertheless obliged to retire behind the Tofs to Glatt—and to a Position before Zurich—The Austrians gain Possession of Glarus and other Cantons—and of Mount St. Gothard—Strong Position taken by Massena—forced by the Archduke Charles—Massena's second Position—Its great Strength—Causes of the Inactivity of the Archduke—Several Actions take place on the right Bank of the Rhine—Partial Operations in Switzerland—Further Proceedings in Italy—Judicious Movements of Moreau—and of Suworow—Peschiera and Pizzighitone taken—Plan of Suworow—Tortona taken—Frequent Skirmishes—Retreat of Moreau—Suworow marches against Turin—takes the City and invests the Citadel

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

Citadel—General Count Hohenzollern defeats General Loison—and takes the Castle of Milan—Ferrara, Ravenna, and other Places, also taken—View of the South of Italy—Invasion of Tuscany—State of Naples—Macdonald quits it, to join Moreau—His successful March into Tuscany—Measures taken by him and Moreau to effect a Junction—Exertions of the Allies at Turin—and throughout the Dominions of the King of Sardinia—Suworow obtains Reinforcements—Macdonald defeats the Austrians near Modena—Movements of Suworow—He defeats Macdonald and compels him to retreat to the Appenines—Advances against Moreau—Successes and Retreat of that General—The Citadel of Turin taken—Altered State of the War—Insurrections against the French—Macdonald obliged to evacuate Tuscany—Joins Moreau—Siege and Capture of Alexandria—and of Mantua—The King of Naples regains his Dominions—Internal Affairs of France—Contemptibility of the Directory—Decline of their Power—Permanent Sittings—Treilhard expelled from the Directory—Message to the Councils—Gobier takes the Place of Treilhard—Philippics against the Directory by Bertrand du Calvados and Boulay de la Meurthe—Characters of Merlin and Laréveillère drawn by Boulay—They are expelled the Directory—Barras resigns, but afterwards retains his Place—Roger Ducos and General Moulins made Directors—Change of Ministry—Laws for enforcing the Inrolment of Conscripts—and raising a Loan—A new Jacobin Club

Club formed—Accusation of Rewbell, Laréveillère, Merlin, and Treilhard—rejected by the Council of Five Hundred.

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1799. **T**HE operations of the war became, in the course of this campaign, so extensive, and events in different quarters were so strictly connected in their ultimate results, that it will be necessary, in recounting its progress, frequently to quit the details relating to one army, in order to bring forward those which, in the same period, distinguished another, and to give a clear view of the general position of the opposed forces at certain points of time forming epochs in the campaign.

As it was now the province of the allies to act on the offensive, they found it necessary to combine plans of effectual co-operation; and the difficulties of the season, and some other impediments, being no longer considered sufficiently formidable to justify delay, generals Hotze and Bellegarde formed a project for a general attack on all the positions occupied by the

French in the valleys of the Rhine, the Lang-
30th April. wart, and the Inn. Bellegarde, supported by several companies of Tyrolian chaffeurs, began to move in two columns; one, led by himself, to attack the valley of the Inn in front; the other, commanded by general Haddick, was to pass over the mountains of the Scharl, and descend into the same valley on the rear of the French corps there intrenched; while a considerable

considerable detachment was to penetrate through the valley of Chieffers, and endeavour to reach Zernets. CHAP.
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General Bellegarde, proceeding from his head-quarters at Nauders, successively overthrew the advanced posts of the French; and having performed a difficult march, during which his troops were several times obliged to ford the Inn, he arrived, after constant fighting, at Ramis, or Remus, and took possession of the village, as well as of the heights by which it was commanded. Notwithstanding the fatigue of his troops, he attacked the intrenched camp of the republicans, situated at some distance behind this village, and carried three ranks of works which defended it to the right and left; but the defences were so complete that he found it impracticable to cross the ditch, and the approach of night arrested further operations. In this period, general Haddick, after a march of ten hours over mountains covered with snow, three obstinate engagements, and carrying several intrenchments, arrived at Trasp, in the valley of the Inn. The Austrians being thus posted in his front, on his right, and even in his rear, Lecourbe was obliged to abandon his position without further contest, taking up another in the rear of Garda. The column directed against Zernets had been successfully opposed by superior numbers, or Lecourbe could not have escaped without losing a great part of his troops. The fatigue of this effort did not deter the 1st and
2d May. Austrians from pursuing their success: generals

Bellegarde

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Bellegarde and Haddick, having effected a junction near Schulz, restored the bridge of Garda which the French had destroyed, gained possession of the village of Lavins, and finally expelled their opponents from the village of Zernets and all the Lower Engadine. The defence was conducted with no less judgment and valour than the attack, and the loss was nearly equal, being about fifteen hundred men on either party; Lecourbe was wounded, and general Dumont taken prisoner by the Imperialists.

1st May.

Meanwhile general Hotze, having received reinforcements which raised his numbers to twenty thousand men, advanced through the valley of the Grisons against the fort of Luciensteig; whilst another column marched towards the same point by the defiles of Langwart, and detachments penetrated by corresponding valleys to keep the French in check on all points. The plan was formed for a combined assault: but the latter column not arriving till several hours after Hotze had begun the attack, the French general Menard was enabled to defeat the whole project, and even to kill or take prisoners a great part of the second column. The failure of this attempt was the more to be regretted as it exposed to the fury of the French many brave natives of Switzerland, who, in hopes of rescuing their country, had taken up arms, but were afterwards defeated in two battles and massacred without mercy.

This event having frustrated the hopes of a junction
of

of Bellegarde and Hotze, the former general found it necessary to make further progress, and therefore continued to drive Lecourbe before him till he was master of the whole course of the Inn, and able to act on the flank of all the French corps which defended the different valleys of the Rhine. He then pushed a vanguard by Sylva Plana, towards the Valteline and the country of Chiavenna, and, by a judicious division of the rest of his corps, enabled Hotze to make a second effort against Luciensteig. This attack was combined in a masterly manner; and the detachments were greatly assisted in their march, and in transporting their artillery, by the peasantry. The French had constructed a strong work called the fort of Steig, which generals Hotze and Jellachich first stormed, and took half a brigade prisoners. Hotze then proceeded to the important post of Zitters, cutting off the retreat of the French troops in the Brettigau; while other detachments, descending into the valley of the Rhine by Marschlins and Zitzers, compelled a part of the French to retire to Richnau, where they took post at the confluence of two branches of the Rhine; and the rest passed the river at Ragats, and directed themselves partly towards Sargans and partly upon Vettis, thus leaving the Imperialists masters of the whole line of the *ten jurisdictions*. This was not the only fruit of that day; for nearly four thousand men and twenty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors.

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15th to
18th.

In the four following days this brilliant success was followed by new exploits; till the Imperialists having almost reconquered the Grison country, become masters of the sources of the Rhine, and established posts beyond that river, made vigorous preparations for the invasion of Switzerland; an exploit which was left to the conduct of the archduke and general Hotze, Bellegarde* having quitted them to assist the operations in Italy.

19th.

Apprehensive of an intended attack, the French made a spirited attempt to dislodge the Austrians from one of their newly-acquired posts, and compel them to repass the Rhine at Wallenstadt; but although they had a great superiority of numbers, and received continual reinforcements, they were defeated and disappointed. Massena, finding the eastern parts of Switzerland no longer tenable, evacuated the Toggenburg, the canton of Appenzel, the country of St. Gall, and the Turgaw, and withdrew all his forces

* On the subject of this general, it is painful to add the following paragraph, extracted from the intelligent historian of the Campaigns of 1796, &c. "It has been," he says, "a current report and a prevalent opinion, that the political and private conduct of count Bellegarde, during the course of this campaign, did not correspond with his military conduct. He is accused of having behaved ungratefully to the archduke Charles, and, by his intrigues and influence at the court of Vienna, crossed the generous views of that prince, to the essential detriment of Europe. It is a matter of regret to be unable to contradict these rumours, and be obliged to confine our praise to the military talents of count Bellegarde."

behind

behind the Thur; and the advanced posts of the Austrians which guarded the Rhine from Feldkirch to Reineck passed the river. The archduke had resolved not to enter Switzerland till the south and east of that country had been invaded; but as soon as he was informed that the French had quitted the neighbourhood of Schaffhausen, he dispatched some light troops to reconnoitre the roads of Zurich and Constance, who found that the republicans had retired beyond the Tofs. A bridge of boats was immediately established at Schaffhausen and Dissemoven, and the Austrian army occupied a camp marked out near Paradis, the archduke's head-quarters being moved from Singen to Schaffhausen; while general Hotze, having effected a passage with all his troops, established his head-quarters at St. Gall.

The armies of the archduke and Hotze having thus acquired a firm footing in Switzerland, their next object was to effect a junction; but Massena, who had by retreating concentrated his forces, and was correctly apprised of the movements of his opponents, speedily advanced, hoping to attack them with advantage in their march. His measures were so well planned and executed, that he was enabled to defeat the advanced guard under general Nauendorf, and a division under general Petrasch; the effect of which was to compel the other branches of the army to adopt also a retrograde movement, after losing about

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about two thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The check was not, however,

1799. of sufficient magnitude to prevent the Austrians from speedily resuming the offensive; they drove the republicans from their position at Winterthur, and compelled them to retreat behind the Tofs. The Imperial forces united formed an aggregate of fifty-five thousand men; and as Massena could not muster an equal
28th and number to oppose them, he became fearful of
29th. being outflanked, and therefore retired to the Glatt, and subsequently to a position before Zurich, which during two months his troops had been carefully intrenching. The Austrians made proportionate advances; and when the French evacuated Rapperschwill, the Swiss legion of Rovera and the corps of colonel Cavacini gained possession of the canton of Glarus, entered that of Schwitz, and occupied the important post of our Lady of Enfidlen. Their progress was little impeded by generals Lecourbe and Loison, who had been obliged to unite their forces in the valley of the Ticino, to secure the St. Gothard, and the right of the defensive line of Massena.

When general Bellegarde ceased to co-operate with general Hotze, his first care was to pursue the corps of the French under Loison and Lecourbe, which, after defending the sources of the Rhine, retreated by the canton of Uri and the Italian bailiwicks. Bellegarde led parts of his army above mount Saphimer towards Cassaccio, and on mount Jule
towards

towards the valley of the Adda, and embarked with
 them on the lake of Como, to cross the Milanese and
 form the siege of Tortona. The rest of that army,
 consisting principally of the brigades of prince Victor
 of Rohan, of colonel Strauch, and of colonel St.
 Julien, who had been left in the valley of the Rhine,
 remained under the command of general Haddick,
 who assembled the greatest part of it at Bellinzona.
 Their principal object was to expel the republicans
 from the Italian bailiwicks, the upper valley of the
 Ticino, and the important passage of the St. Gothard.
 Having therefore ascended the valley of the
 Ticino as far as Airola, Haddick attacked, on ^{28th.}
 three points, the position of Loison, who, favoured by
 the steepness of the mountains, maintained himself
 several hours; but prince Victor de Rohan having
 passed the Ticino, and climbed a very high mountain
 which flanked the right of the French, at the same
 time that another Austrian column turned them on
 the left, general Loison was obliged to abandon the
 St. Gothard, and to retire into the valley of Urseren.
 The Imperialists did not allow him a long rest; for
 colonel St. Julien having marched the day after from
 the Upper Rhienthal and passed over mount Urfule,
 descended quickly towards the Devil's-bridge and
 Urseren, where he attacked the French so briskly,
 that they were forced to retire in disorder to Gerstina
 and Wafen, and still further behind the Reufs, of
 which they destroyed the bridge. This act alone
 stopped

CHAP. stopped the Austrians, who, notwithstanding the
 XXVII. fatigues of a long march, had pursued the fugitives

1799. above fifteen miles, and made some hundreds prisoners. The whole of this French corps would have been taken, had a column which was sent to intercept them been able to penetrate into the valley of the Reufs.

30th May to Alarmed at the loss of the St. Gothard,
 2d June. and the progress made by the Imperialists in the cantons of Glarus, Schwitz, and Uri, the French sent strong reinforcements, which enabled Lecourbe to attack general Bellegarde, and, after several obstinate skirmishes, to drive him back to Urseren. The Austrians, however, secured the possession of the St. Gothard; and Lecourbe, enfeebled by his losses, and despairing of recovering the ground he had evacuated, embarked part of his troops on the lake of the Four Cantons and part on that of Zug, and took a position behind these lakes to cover Lucerne. The Austrians occupied the valley of the Reufs to the lake of the Four Cantons, and Altorf, Fluelen, Brunnen, and Schwitz, from which they communicated with the rest of the army across the Sihl and the lake of Zurich.

The position before Zurich, to which Massena had retired, was a chain of fortified mountains, situated between the Limmat and the Glatt; and he added to the strength bestowed on it by nature all that art could supply. As the archduke could make no effectual

tual progress till he had dislodged the French from this position; and as an attempt to turn their flank would have been arduous, long, and dangerous, he made his attack on the Zurichberg, the most elevated part of the chain of mountains, knowing that the forcing of that would secure to him the rest.

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Having reconnoitred the position, he assailed the right of the French, and, after several vicissitudes and an obstinate contest, drove them from the villages of Vittikon, Zulicon, and Riefpach. On

3d June.

the morrow the Zurichberg was assailed; but the approaches were so formidably entrenched and the fire of the batteries so commanding, that the utmost valour and perseverance of the Austrians was crowned only with the possession of the first line of intrenchments. This was a most sanguinary conflict:

4th.

each party lost two thousand five hundred men: on the side of the Imperialists, generals Hotze, Wallis, and Hiller; and on the side of the republicans, generals Oudinot and Humbert (the same who was captured in Ireland); were wounded. A new effort intended to be made on the next day was deferred, on account of the weariness of the

5th and 6th.

troops; and when, refreshed with repose, they prepared for another assault, they had the satisfaction to find that Massena had retired to the other side of the Limmat, leaving to the victors his intrenchments, with thirty pieces of cannon, and the town of Zurich. The vigour, genius, and promptitude, displayed by

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the archduke offered the most flattering presages of the entire conquest of Switzerland, and redoubled the regret that his arm should afterwards be restrained by the timid or treacherous politicians of the Imperial cabinet.

After the evacuation of Zurich, Massena took a new position on the chain of mountains called Albis ; being the nearest, safest, and strongest, he could assume. The Austrians were in too great need of repose to press forward immediately on a new enterprise ; and therefore confined themselves, for some time, to slight skirmishes. Massena's position could not be forced till proper previous measures had been taken : in front it was hardly assailable, and the archduke, weakened as he was by the want of the troops absent with Bellegarde, could not conquer so much territory as was necessary in order to turn it. In other points of their line, the French were more open ; but the archduke was deterred by the general strength of their situation, by the diminution of his force in order to further the prosperous operations in Italy, by the expectation of auxiliaries, and, above all, by secret orders from the court of Vienna, from making decisive attempts in Switzerland. He had therefore no longer any object but to prevent Massena from profiting by his inaction, which he could not better effect than by giving the French general employment in the Brisgau, in the margraviate of Baden, and in the Palatinate, where nothing worthy of notice had passed during

during the month of May, except the capture of Heidelberg by the Austrians.

19th May.

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In these countries several smart actions took place, in one of which general Stzarray expelled the French from Offenburg, and obliged

26th June.

them to fall back on Wilstall and Kehl. The Austrian general Meerfeldt pushed his head-quarters from Haslach to Gengembach, and the advanced posts of the republicans were repulsed to Old Brifach. Having received reinforcements, general Legrand, who commanded the French division before

4th July.

Kehl, attacked all the Austrian posts in the valleys of Renchen and of the Acheren; he was at first successful; but, after a conflict which lasted the whole day, both parties remained in the same position as before.

In an attack on the front of Lichtenau, in the road from Kehl to Raftadt, the French were still less fortunate, being vigorously repulsed and driven back beyond Bischofsheim. Pursuing this petty

6th.

scheme of unavailing warfare, general Legrand marched with six thousand men upon Offenburg, which the Austrians immediately evacuated; but, after fighting during the whole day, the French were unable to penetrate further, and two days afterwards they also resigned the post,

8th.

fearing an attack by general Meerfeldt.

Meanwhile the hussars of Szeckler, aided by the armed peasants of Odenwald, carried on petty hostilities against the light troops of the French in front of

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Mentz, made incursions beyond the Mein and the Nidda, even pushed parties to the Lahn, and carried off forage and provisions. In consequence of these excursions, several engagements took place during the month of July, but no one of great importance. Two skirmishes of more than usual activity and vigour marked the close of the month; but all the military efforts on the right bank of the Rhine were considered of small consequence, compared to those in other quarters.

The month of June elapsed without any strenuous exertion on the part of the archduke or of Massena in Switzerland; but, in July, the French general, wishing to ascertain the strength of his opponent's left wing, made an attack on general Jel-lachich, in the neighbourhood of Zug: he obtained some advantages, and was obliged to retreat on the ensuing morning. A similar attempt made some days afterwards by the Austrians, under general Hotze, met with nearly the same fate. The interval was spent in skirmishes and manœuvres, more essential to be considered by the military historian than by him who bends his attention to the general political effect rather than the details of these operations.

From these scenes the attention is called to Italy, where Moreau, having been compelled to yield the Milanese to the allies, found his situation extremely embarrassing, having no more than twenty-five thousand

land men to preserve his communications with Switzerland, to defend the approaches of Turin, to cover the fortified places of eastern Piedmont, to secure the passes of the Appenines, to leave to the army of Naples the means of effecting its retreat, and to suppress the insurrections which were breaking out against him on all sides. Moreau, whose abilities were put to the test, and most honourably proved, on this trying situation, retreated to a most excellent position. His right rested on Alexandria and on the Tanaro; his left on Valentia and the Po. Thus, on one side he supported Tortona; and on the other gave some protection to Turin by the course of the Po, and by strong detachments placed at Casale and Verua. He preserved, at the same time, if not the shortest, at least the most important communications with France, as well as with the Genoese territory, and consequently with the army of Naples. He had also the advantage of fixing the allies in the centre of Italy, by which he expected to oblige them to waste the campaign in a war of posts and sieges, and thus retard or even prevent projects for invading France, and give time for the collection of new armies.

After entering Milan, Suworow ordered his troops to pursue the retreating republicans; and, leaving four thousand men under general Latterman to blockade the castle of Milan, put his army in motion.

General Wuckassowich marched on the

1st May.

4th.

right

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right towards the Novarese and the country of Ver-
celli, the centre towards the Pavese and the Lumel-
line, the left towards the Plaisantin and the Tor-
tonese, and in three days the marshal established his
head-quarters at Pavia.

General Kray had been impeded by the rains from
opening the trenches before Peschiera; but on a se-
5th. cond summons, the garrison abridged his la-
9th. bours by surrendering. Pizzighitone was also
given up to general Kaim, after a bombardment of
five days.

When Suworow comprehended the nature of Mo-
reau's movements, he reduced his own to three prin-
cipal points; to interrupt Moreau's communications
with Switzerland and France, to cut off that which he
had with Tuscany and the army of Naples, and to
oblige him to quit his excellent position. The means
to accomplish at once these three objects were, to ex-
tend himself on Moreau's right and left, and gain, as
much as possible, his flanks.

Conformably to this plan, the left wing, which,
since the reduction of Pizzighitone, had been rein-
forced by general Kaim's division, passed the Po at

11th. Pavia, advanced by Voghera to Tortona,
broke open its gates, took possession of the
city, and masked the citadel. On the same day, the

centre of the allied army threw several hundred men
15th. across the Po, a part of whom were captured
by the French; and during several succeed-

ing

ing days, battles and skirmishes were maintained on both sides of the river, with great loss to both parties. CHAP.
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At length, Moreau, finding his left flank threatened and the line of the Po already 19th.
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broken, abandoned his position; retreating by Asti, Cherasco, and Fossano, and establishing his headquarters at Coni. He left to the allies the whole plain of Lombardy, and confined himself to preserving the communications with France by the Col de Tende and the valley of Argentiere, and with the Riviera di Genoa by the maritime Alps. To accomplish this latter object, he was obliged to dispatch to his right a body of troops to engage the insurgents of Mondovi and Ceva. He reduced the first by fire and sword; but an Austrian captain, named Schmelzer, having traversed with three hundred men the county of Montferrat, occupied by the French, threw himself into Ceva, where he greatly annoyed them.

Suworow, having thus compelled Moreau to quit his position, marched the combined 19th. army, upwards of thirty thousand strong, towards Turin; leaving three corps, forming together a force nearly equal to that under Moreau, on the Scrivia and the Tanaro. The first, under general Alcaini, to blockade the castle of Tortona; the second, under the Russian general Schweikowsky, to mask Alexandria; and the third, under general Seckendorf, to watch the Appenines, scour the county of Montferrat, and sup-
port

CHAP. port the inhabitants of Mondovi and Ceva, who were
 XXVII. in full insurrection.

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In a week the combined army reached Turin, in which were two thousand five hundred troops, under general Fiorella : the city was taken, after a short assault ; but the garrison,

26th.

who had shut themselves up in the citadel, would soon have reduced the town to ashes, had not Suworow, by timely and vigorous threats, extorted a convention, by which the French engaged not to fire on the town, and the allies to abstain from assailing the citadel from that quarter.

Before his departure from Turin, the Russian general dispatched count Hohenzollern, with six battalions, to besiege the castle of Milan, and to assist prince Victor de Rohan on the lakes of Como and Lugano. In executing the latter part of his task, he defeated the republican general Loison, forced him to fall back more than twenty miles, and to abandon the Italian bailiwicks ; then, leaving a battalion to

20th to

23d.

reinforce the prince, he turned his steps towards Milan, opened the trenches, and continued the siege with so much vigour, that in three days batteries were mounted and in a condition to play. The garrison, however, on a second summons, capitulated, and were sent into France under an engagement not to serve for a year against the two emperors.

The

The same day which gave the allies the castle of Milan put them in possession of the citadel of Ferrara; their left wing also took Porto Digoro, Porto Primaro, and Ravenna, completing their establishment on the Lower Po.

20th to
26th.

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Thus the Imperialists, confined and threatened as they had been at the end of March on the line of the Adige, had in two months of the campaign gained three pitched battles, taken four fortresses, made themselves masters of the course of the Po, carried their right to the frontiers of France, and their left to the Adriatic Sea. A Russian and Turkish squadron blocked up the port of Ancona, and bombarded that city. General Klenau occupied the country of Ferrara, and a great part of that of Bologna; blockaded the fort of Urbino; and sent parties into Romagna, and as far as the frontiers of Tuscany. General Ott with a division occupied the duchies of Parma and Modena, and had his advanced posts in the Appenines, and, among other places, at the important pass of Pentromoli. General Kray, who had been joined by the whole corps which had besieged the castle of Milan and by reinforcements brought from the hereditary countries, left fifteen thousand men before Mantua, passed the Po with an equal number to succour the divisions of generals Ott and Klenau, and placed his head-quarters at Castelluccio. The three corps already mentioned blocked up Tortona and Alexandria, watched the mountains of the state of Genoa, and

CHAP. and countenanced the insurgents of the maritime
 XXVII. Alps. The great army supported them still more at
 1799. the other extremity of Piedmont, possessed itself of the
 passes which lead from that country to France, and
 kept in check the army of Moreau. The magazines
 taken from the republicans at Brescia, Bergamo,
 Crema, Cremona, Peschiera, Pizzighitone, and other
 places, were immense, and abundantly sufficient for
 the supply of the allied armies. The spoils of Italy,
 those at least of the soil, passed in part from the hands
 of the French into those of the Imperialists.

These events materially influenced those in the
 south of Italy. The grand-duke of Tuscany had
 prudently withdrawn to Vienna before the declaration
 of war, but his dominions were invaded and plundered
 by seven or eight thousand republican troops, chiefly
 Ligurians and Cisalpines. General Macdonald, who
 commanded at Naples, had been prevented from
 extending his conquests by the gradual diminution of
 his army; the increasing number of those commanded
 by cardinal Ruffo; and the alarms arising from threats
 of a descent by the English, Russians, and Turks,
 who cruised on the coasts of both seas, and had even
 seized upon the Prociadan islands. His operations
 had been limited to securing the submission of the
 capital, putting the coasts in a state of defence, and
 completing the reduction of the provinces of Ab-
 bruzza, of Capitanata, and of the two principalities,
 which he had effected by burning several towns and
 villages,

villages, and putting to the sword some thousands of peasants. Such was the situation of Macdonald when he received from the directory the tardy and difficult order to evacuate Naples and join Moreau. According to instructions, he left all power in the hands of the patriots; not, however, as in other countries, of patriots of the lower classes, but of nobles and dignitaries of the church, who, at the time of the conquest, had thrown themselves into the arms of the French, and who, having been long before engaged in conspiracies against their sovereign, offered more certain assurances of republican fidelity than were found among those who commonly compose the forlorn hopes of democracy. He left for their support republican corps raised in the country, and the garrisons of St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, which could easily communicate with and assist each other. He set out with all the rest of his troops, traversed in close columns the Romish state (several parts of which were not entirely subdued), left there his heavy baggage, and having collected to himself all the troops except small garrisons at Rome, Civitavecchia, Viterbo, Perugia, Ronciglione, and Ancona, hastened towards Tuscany. On reaching the capital, he found the division of general Gauthier, and established a communication with that of general Montrichard, which was opposed to Klenau in the country of Bologna and in Romana. The union of all these troops, composed of French, Italians, and Poles, formed

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CHAP. formed an army of about twenty-five thousand men,
 XXVII. which was a greater force than that with which
 1799. Moreau still disputed the possession of upper Italy ;
 and therefore the allies were about to have to combat
 more than a double number of enemies.

Fortune had favoured Macdonald in his march from
 Naples to Tuscany ; but Moreau was still a hundred
 and fifty miles distant, and the intermediate space was
 rendered difficult to pass, by the nature of the country
 and the presence of the allies. The first object was
 to render himself master of the *debouchés* to two roads ;
 one going along the Riviera di Ponente, and called
 the Corniche, the other situated in the plain between
 the Appenines and the Po, across the duchies of
 Modena, Parma, and Placentia, and by which he in-
 tended to pass. Having therefore assembled his troops
 on the frontiers of Tuscany, he divided them into two
 principal bodies. The right forced general
 26th. Klenau to raise the blockade of fort Urbino,
 and retire to Modena ; and the left, advancing by
 Saffalba, Sarzano, Ulla, and Villa Franca, dislodged
 the Imperialists from Pontremoli, and enabled
 30th. the general to establish his head-quarters at
 Lucca.

Moreau, advancing to meet his colleague, and
 leaving only his left wing in the position of Coni,
 crossed with his right the maritime Alps at Savona,
 occupying with his centre the upper valley of the
 Tanaro. The division of general Victor being de-
 tached

attached still further on the state of Genoa, occupied the defile of the Bochetta and the other passage of the Appenines, from which the allies had not yet thought of driving the feeble detachments which defended them. In a few days, Moreau proceeded to Genoa; where he concerted measures with general Perignon, and received some small reinforcements and provisions. These were brought by the French fleet; which, after having escaped from Brest, where it had long been blocked up by the English, had passed the straits of Gibraltar, touched at Toulon, shewed itself for a moment on the coasts of Genoa and Tuscany, and had again the good fortune to return by the same road, and enter safely into Brest, taking with it the Spanish fleet, which had joined it off Cadiz.

While the two republican generals, by their movements and their operations, were preparing for important events, the allies gathered together all the spoils left by the French at Turin; established, instead of the government of the king of Sardinia, a provisional government, directed by delegates from Vienna; prepared to besiege the citadel; enrolled in their army some thousands of Piedmontese soldiers who had abandoned the standards of the republic; restored the ancient Sardinian regiments; raised in the country a corps of chasseurs; spread themselves into the neighbouring provinces; and encouraged the insurgents, who carried on a troublesome war against the French. The inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerna;

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St. Martin, and Peroufa, known by the name of Vaudois or Barbets, having joined the republicans, general Lufignan was difpatched againft them with three thoufand men. Marching by Pignerol towards the valley of Fenestrelles, he furprifed and on 3d June took prifoner general Zimmerman, defeated to 8th. the infurgents, blockaded Fenestrelles, and penetrated by the valley of St. Martin into Dauphiné, where his troops carried off fome plunder, and created confiderable alarm. In the fame period, Suworow gained ground oppofite to Moreau; the divifion of general Frœlich pushed on to Foffano and Savigliono, and fent patroles as far as Coni; general Wuckaffowich took Carmagnola, Alba, and Cherafco, and forced the French from Ceva and Mondoni; general Alcaini began the fiege and bombardment of the citadel of Tortona; and fome light troops advanced by Suza into the Maurienne.

Although Suworow did not expect that Macdonald would arrive fo foon, or bring fo many forces, he had, in fome meafure, prepared for his reception, by directing general Kray to fufpend the fiege of Mantua and advance beyond the Po, by obtaining eleven thoufand men from the court of Petersburg, and by inducing that of Vienna to direct general Bellegarde to quit Switzerland, for the purpofe of reinforcing with fourteen thoufand men the army of

5th.

Italy. This general, on his arrival at Milan, marched to blockade Alexandria; and the refidue of his

his

his troops, added to some free corps which arrived from the hereditary states, enabled Suworow to unite about forty thousand men to oppose the two French generals.

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Macdonald, after securing the roads of the Apennines, rested some days, in order to afford time for the movements of Moreau, and to obtain military assistance from Tuscany and Romania, and place the island of Elba in safety. At length he marched from Pistoia towards Modena; and, on the third day of his progress, the advanced posts of the centre of the two armies met on the road, which produced a skirmish between the cavalry. Another smart action took place the next day, in which the French were repulsed with considerable loss. The following day, Macdonald, with his whole force, made a general attack, and, though obstinately resisted, drove the Austrians, commanded by Hohenzollern, towards Mirandola, and obliged him to cross the Po. This engagement was extremely bloody: the French general Forest was killed, and Macdonald wounded, and four hundred of their troops were in the same state; but the Austrians lost a thousand men slain and wounded, and upwards of twelve hundred prisoners. Notwithstanding this success and the urgency of the occasion, Macdonald could not venture to cross the Po and relieve and reinvigorate Mantua; but considering it more his interest to remain between the Apennines and the Po, advanced towards Reggio,

CHAP. XXVII. Reggio, and entered Parma and Placentia ; while
 1799. general Ott, who had only ten thousand men, retired
 before him.

10th to Suworow, leaving general Wuckassowich
 17th. with a corps of observation in Mondovi, and
 general Kaim with the brigade of general Lusignan to
 cover the siege on the side of France, set out from
 Turin with the principal part of his army. His first
 movements were directed against Moreau ; but on
 learning the advantages which had been gained by
 Macdonald, he marched towards Alexandria with
 rather more than twenty thousand men, principally
 Russians. Macdonald, still pursuing general Ott, had
 crossed the Trebia in two columns, one advancing
 along the Po, the other towards Castel San Giovanni ;
 when Suworow arrived with his vanguard, and
 arrested his career by a smart contest, in which both
 sides suffered considerably, but the French lost
 ground.

18th. In the night the whole allied army arrived ;
 and, after a few hours' repose, Suworow
 formed them in order of battle in three columns ; the
 right and centre composed of Russians, and com-
 manded, the first by general Rosenberg, the other
 by general Forster : the left, under general Melas,
 consisted of the Austrian divisions of Ott and Frœlich ;
 prince Lichtenstein commanded a reserve of cavalry
 near the Po, and the Russian prince Bagration led the
 vanguard. The army forded the Tidone, but so
 much

much time was lost in inevitable delays and preparations, that the general battle was deferred till the next day, though the French suffered severely in some detached skirmishes. CHAP. XXVII. 1799.

Macdonald, having an equal number of troops, and relying on the fatigue of the allies, resolved to anticipate them in their intended attack; and therefore, advancing beyond the Trebia, drove back their posts which guarded the left bank. The main project was to turn, at the same time, the two wings of the Austro-Russian army; to execute which two thousand horse pushed briskly along the Po, and attacked the Austrian cavalry almost before they had time to form: but the assailants were defeated, after a very hot action, and forced back upon the infantry. The column which marched against the right of the Russians had at first more success, but was ultimately outflanked, defeated, and driven from Cassaleggio; and finally the whole army was repulsed beyond the Trebia, and obliged to abandon the field to the allies.

In the morning Suworow again advancing to attack his opponent, discovered that he had retreated during the night. A pursuit was commenced; and the Russians coming up with the rear-guard of the republicans at Zena, almost surrounded, and compelled it to surrender, after a brave defence. The Austrians, advancing on the left by the bridge of Placentia, also overtook the rear of the retreating army,

CHAP. XXVII.
 1799. army, and captured several thousand sick and wounded; among the latter of whom were generals Rufca, Salm, Olivier, and Chambray. These four days cost Macdonald four thousand men killed and wounded, and ten thousand prisoners: the loss of the allies in slain and wounded was little inferior to their op-
 21st to ponents. Macdonald continued his retreat
 28th. along the road by which he came, pursued by general Ott; and, after some skirmishes and the loss of some hundred prisoners, resumed the position of Pistoia. General Hohenzollern re-entered Parma, and with general Ott occupied Reggia and Modena, the generals guarding as before the *debouchés* of the Appenines, as well those of Tuscany as of Pontremoli and the Taro, on the frontiers of the Genoese; while general Kray resumed the twice-interrupted siege of Mantua.

23d to Suworow was obliged, like his opponent,
 26th. to make a retrograde march, for the purpose of encountering Moreau, who, with about twenty thousand men, had raised the siege of the citadel of Tortona, and defeated general Bellegarde on the roads of Acqui and Novi. The Russian general advanced by forced marches; but Moreau drew off by the same places through which he had advanced, and evaded an engagement. In the mean time, however, generals Kaim and Lusignan had pressed the citadel of Turin with so much vigour and judgment, that, after

after a bombardment of forty-eight hours and a siege of only eight days, it yielded ; and the garrison, consisting of two thousand seven hundred men, was allowed to return into France, on condition of not serving against the allies till exchanged. Twenty-five generals, forming the staff, were sent prisoners into Germany. The Imperialists found in the citadel five hundred and sixty-two of the finest pieces of ordnance, forty thousand muskets, four hundred thousand weight of powder, and considerable magazines. This rich military booty would have more than indemnified the emperor for the expences of the siege, if that expence had been made by him ; but it was in every respect on the account of the Piedmontese government, and cost not a farthing to the house of Austria. The men lost before the place were twenty-four killed and seventy-two wounded.

The late actions, in which the conduct, vigour, and generalship of Suworow were superior to all praise, altered the character of the war. It was no longer one of movements, manœuvres, and engagements ; but on the part of the allies a war of sieges, and of the republicans of defence. The Austro-Russian troops, flushed with success, abundantly supplied, and favoured by general insurrections of the natives, amounted to ninety thousand ; while the French possessed only seventy-five thousand, including the garrisons of Mantua, Tortona, and Alexandria,

CHAP. which formed fifteen thousand of the number. Su-
 XXVII. worow reduced to two principal objects the advan-
 1799. tages to be derived from his late success;—the conquest
 of Tuscany, and the capture of Alexandria, Tortona,
 and Mantua. The former was greatly advanced by
 a voluntary insurrection of the subjects of the grand-
 duke, who, on the removal of Macdonald, flew to
 arms, and formed themselves into a national army.
 At the same time a Cisalpine general, named Lahooz,
 revolted with all his followers from the republican
 cause, and conquered for the allies the march of
 Ancona, which he had hitherto defended against
 them. Such was the state in which Macdonald found
 the country on his return; and, threatened as he
 was by thirty or forty thousand insurgents, who in-
 tercepted all his communications with the lower parts
 of Italy, and by twenty thousand Austrians, who were
 advancing against him under Ott and Klenau, he
 could not flatter himself with hopes of long maintain-
 ing his ground.

30th. If he entertained such expectations, they
 must have vanished on the capture of Bologna
 by general Klenau; immediately after which event he
 began to make arrangements for evacuating Tuscany.
 This was an enterprize of the utmost difficulty, as no
 way was left for him by land but the Corniche,
 which was impassable by every kind of carriage; and
 the transport of artillery, baggage, and plunder, by
 sea, was rendered peculiarly dangerous by the English
 men-

men-of-war constantly cruising on the coasts of Tuscany. Macdonald was, however, reduced to the necessity of sending as great a portion of these effects as he could collect to Leghorn, where a small portion, together with some officers of the staff and the civil agents of the republic, were embarked on board an American vessel, and captured almost immediately on leaving the port. CHAP. XXVII. 1799.

9th July.

On the same day the allies made the more important acquisition of fort Urbino ; and the people of Florence had previously cut down the trees of liberty, destroyed all marks of their subjection to the French, and obliged the garrison to retreat towards Leghorn. At the same time the bulk of Macdonald's army decamped from Pistoia, and marched towards Lucca, Sazzana, and the road of Corniche, along which they defiled in safety, but were obliged to throw into the sea or destroy the greatest part of their artillery and heavy baggage. Leghorn, Pisa, Lucca, Porto-Ferraio in the island of Elba, and the fortrefs of Antignano, were preserved by the republicans, to secure their retreat ; but when Macdonald found his passage by the Corniche safe, he caused Leghorn and the rest of Tuscany to be evacuated by capitulation. While the Austrians employed themselves in mitigating, in the rescued countries, the horrors of war, Macdonald effected a junction with Moreau, who thus acquired the

8th.

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the

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the chief command of between forty and fifty thousand men. The allies, by liberating Tuscany, had placed between their army and that of the Neapolitan royalists the French division which still possessed Rome, Civitavecchia, Perugia, Ancona, and Fano, and precluded it from all possibility of retreat.

Of the three fortresses intended to be reduced by Suworow, the works before Alexandria alone had escaped interruption, and against that he therefore directed his first efforts. The large circumference of this fortress rendered the works of the lines and trenches long and laborious; but the first parallel ^{14th to} being finished, and artillery placed on the ^{21st.} batteries, the French general Gardanne was summoned to surrender. On his refusal, the attack was vigorously and scientifically carried on for several days; when a lodgment being made in the covered way, Gardanne, having exhausted his ammunition and having only four pieces of cannon fit for use, capitulated. He obtained his own liberty on parole; and his garrison, amounting to two thousand four hundred men, were sent prisoners of war into Germany.

General Kray was, at the same time, vigorously pressing the siege of Mantua with twenty-five thousand soldiers, aided by many thousand peasants. As it was impossible to assail this celebrated fortress in
many

many directions at once, the general directed his chief attention to the south side, which was least strong; and, as a necessary preliminary, carried by storm the tower of Ceresa, which was well furnished with artillery, and covered the bridge over the arm of the Mincio called Bajolo. He lost no time in repairing the bridge and establishing batteries; and, having gained the sluice of the Bajolo, was enabled to let the waters run off which surrounded the city, and thus rendering the ground dry, made direct approaches towards the body of the place.

On the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile, the commander, general Foissac Latour, requested a suspension of firing, that he might celebrate that festival: the besieging general agreed; but, as he was not prevented by the treaty from other operations, caused the trench of the first parallel to be opened opposite the suburb of Thé; and on the following morning the besieged, to their great surprise, saw the parallel entirely finished in front of them, and the Austrians so well established, that all efforts to dislodge them were ineffectual. The siege was prosecuted with unremitting energy, till, at length, Foissac Latour consented to a capitulation, by which his troops were permitted to retire into France, on condition of not serving again till exchanged.

While the capture of these two fortresses afforded certain pledges of the reconquest of all Italy, one of its

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its most valuable parts was snatched from the yoke of the French and Italian revolutionists. After the evacuation of Naples by Macdonald, cardinal Ruffo, at the head of the royalist army, consisting of more than twenty thousand men, and supported by, or rather supporting, some hundreds of Ruffians, defeated the republican levies, and marched towards the capital, where the English fleet, on board which the hereditary prince and some Sicilian regiments had embarked, was expected at the same time. The sudden appearance of the French fleet in the Mediterranean having prevented the immediate arrival of lord Nelson, the cardinal, exceeding his authority, made a treaty with the chiefs of the rebels, granting them favourable conditions. When he had thus obtained possession of the capital, the English fleet appeared, and his treaty was declared void. The castles of Ovo, Nuovo, and St. Elmo, were taken, though not before the latter had endured a long siege. The king of Naples, who had hoisted his flag on board the Foudroyant, lord Nelson's ship, had now the pleasure to see it wave over his capital and forts. Gaeta and Capua soon yielded to the valour of captain Trowbridge, commanding a little army, composed of English, Ruffians, Neapolitans, Piedmontese, Swifs, and Ottomans. The French obtained permission to retire into their own country, on condition of not serving again till exchanged; and thus,

thus, after having plundered and ravaged the kingdom and induced thousands of its inhabitants to rebel, abandoned them, without a stipulation in their favour, to the sword of justice and the vengeance of the royalist party. The fortress of Pescara, on the shore of the Adriatic, was the last place reduced, and did not yield till after a long blockade, when the king of the Two Sicilies, finding his continental dominions free from the double yoke and double rapacity of the French and Italian republicans, meditated, in conjunction with his allies and benefactors, the emancipation of the states of the church*.

In the interior of France confusion and distraction reigned. The directors, odious for their tyranny and contemptible for their meanness, were universally detested, and their influence considerably diminished. The horror of the 18 Fructidor had faded from the minds of the councils, and turbulent speeches, bold motions, and refusals of demands of money and power, convinced the directory that their authority was tottering. The elections which took place in the spring were highly unfavourable to them; their influence was generally exerted without effect; and, in scrutinising the returns, the legislative body shewed a disposition rather to reject the friends than the opponents of their rulers. Rewbell went out by lot;

* From the History of the Campaigns of 1796, &c. vols. III. and IV.; and the Epitome of Military Events.

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and Syeyes, who had recently been employed as embassador at Berlin, was nominated his successor. It was generally considered that this crafty time-serving politician would not, without latent motives, commit his personal safety in a situation which had been proved so insecure by the violences of the 18 Fructidor, nor lend his sanction to a body rapidly falling into weakness and overwhelmed by the public contempt. When therefore he accepted the office of director the fall of the directory was confidently anticipated, and those who best appreciated the character of Syeyes concluded that he only took his seat at the head of government to insure and guide its overthrow.

5th June. Pursuing the old forms of hostility, the council of five hundred formed several committees, and required from the directory an account of the internal and external situation of the republic.

16th. The answer being too long delayed, Poulain-Grandpré moved for a new message, and obtained a decree for making the sitting permanent, till the necessary informations were afforded. The directory returned for answer, that they too had declared their sittings permanent, and would satisfy the council on the morrow.

This intimation was perhaps intended as a threat; but the directory was no longer formidable. At eleven o'clock at night, Bergasse-Lazirouille reported from the various committees that many members of both councils had lent the assistance of their talents to extricate

tricate the republic from her present agonised state; and, as a first specimen of their success, declared the election of Treillard to the directory repugnant to the constitution. The 126th article of that code declared that no person should be eligible to a seat in the directory during the continuance, nor for one year after the determination, of his legislative functions: now Treillard had been nominated within a twelve-month after his seat in the council of five hundred had become vacant. The resolution declaring this election void, and requiring the place of Treillard to be supplied according to the forms prescribed by the constitution, was carried to the council of ancients, who had also declared their sittings permanent, and unanimously adopted.

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The directory did not seem apprised of the danger which threatened their authority; but, during the time occupied in this transaction, had prepared a report in their accustomed style, in answer to the requisitions of the council. They began, as usual, by extolling the benefits of unanimity and confidence; and imputed the ill success of their arms to the parsimony of the legislature, which not only retarded military operations, but impeded the effect of certain negotiations which would materially have assisted the valour of the republican heroes. The situation of the interior was represented as truly deplorable; public calamity was increased, and the public mind agitated by false reports and insidious speculations. The
double

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double fanaticism of the altar and the throne was breaking forth with violence. The hope of foreign aid, and the influence of foreign gold, put in activity a crowd of those men to whom all forms of government are indifferent, and who are therefore ever ready to attack that which is established. The plunder of public chests, attacks directed against public functionaries, a prevalent inactivity among that class, the assassination of republicans; such was the melancholy picture presented by many of the departments. In some in the west the rebels were endeavouring to reunite, and in the south bodies of assassins were reorganising; while Austria vomited around her infamous satellites *, and consternation and terror spread on every side. In recommending great efforts and energetic measures to remedy these evils, the directory insinuated that the councils had been, in part, the cause of them, by daring to announce attacks, predict crimes, and impart fears for the constitution, and

* This absurd figure of a *nation vomiting satellites*, would hardly deserve notice, did it not afford an opportunity of remarking, that France, in all periods of the revolution, has treated not only the rulers and ministers, but the military, of other nations with the same disgusting and filthy abuse. The courtesy of war has been utterly renounced, and men engaged in a profession, the horrors of which can only be mitigated by the humanity resulting from a sense of honour, have been treated in all public acts and declamations as cowards, fools, tame slaves, and satellites of despotism, or inveighed against as cut-throats, robbers, barbarians, and assassins.

the authorities created under it. A second communication was promised; and, in the mean time, the legislators were exhorted to be unanimous, and to destroy the hopes of their enemies, by binding more strongly together the two principal branches of the republican fasces. No immediate discussion arose on this verbose and insolent message; but the council, having referred it to the examination of the committees, immediately proceeded to the election of a new director instead of Treilhard, and their choice fell on Gohier, late minister of justice.

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The report of the committees on the message of the directory was anticipated by a violent philippic from Bertrand du Calvados; who, in terms far more violent than those which proved so fatal to Thibaudeau and Tronçon du Coudray, reprobated the majority of the directory, or, as he called them, the imprudent and inept triumvirate, as authors of all the ills, military, financial, and social, which afflicted France. Boulay de la Meurthe, following the style of this declamation, accused the triumvirate of having continually since the 18 Fructidor kept the legislative body in a state of abject subjection. "That stupid and atrocious system," he said, "is the work of Merlin and Laréveillère. Merlin, a man little in every thing, little in his views, little in his measures, little in his intrigues, little in his revenge, little in his decrees, has put in vigour the most narrow and disgusting system of Machiavelism. He would have been

CHAP. been a worthy keeper of the seals to Louis XI., the
 XXVII. whole capacity of his mind fitting him only to direct
 1799. the studies of a pettifogger. As to Laréveillère,"
 Boulay continued, " I do not withhold from him
 the praise of morality, but his obstinacy is unexampled.
 His fanaticism leads him to create I know not what
 kind of religion, to the establishment of which he is
 anxious to sacrifice all received ideas, tramples on all
 rules of good sense, violates all principles, and attacks
 the liberty of conscience." The orator moved that
 these two men should be expelled from the directory.
 A committee of eleven, formed to consider of the pro-
 ject, speedily reported that " Every authority, or in-
 dividual, making attempts against the safety or liberty
 of the legislative body, or any of its numbers, either
 by giving or executing orders, should be put out of
 the law." This resolution passed both councils; who
 thus, without the slightest appearance of insurrection,
 saw themselves completely in possession of the revolu-
 tionary powers formerly consigned to the committee
 of public safety.

It has afforded ground for astonishment that the
 directory should either have been so ignorant of these
 proceedings or so inert as to neglect all measures for
 insuring their own safety. By some it is averred that
 they had concerted measures for dissolving the councils,
 but fixed for their execution a day too late. But it
 is not probable distressed and degraded as they were,
 loaded with crimes and execrations, and no longer
 supported

supported by the reputation arising from military success, that they would have been able to carry measures of vigour into execution. Abject fear seems to have possessed their minds; and even Barras, whose personal bravery was never called in question, possessed so little political courage, that he wrote a letter to the councils renouncing his functions as director, and offering to submit his conduct at any time to their investigation. This act of humility preserved him perhaps from persecution, and enabled him to retain his situation; but his accused colleagues were expelled, and replaced by Roger Ducos, late member of the convention, and general Moulins. This arrangement is said to have been regarded with malevolence by Syeyes, who had been a principal contriver of the change, and who wished to see the vacant seats filled by Cambacérès and Talleyrand. A total change of ministry was also effected. Cambacérès was appointed minister of justice, Quinette of the interior, Robert Lindet of finances, general Bernadotte of war, Bourdon of the marine, and Bourguignon of the police. The latter was soon afterwards displaced, to make room for Fouché of Nantes, one of the most sanguinary of the proconsuls who had contributed to the depopulation of France during the reign of terror.

These nominations were not the only circumstances which indicated the complete ascendancy of the jacobins. A message having been sent to the new, or, as it was called, regenerated, directory,

CHAP. directory, general Jourdan appeared in the tribune,
 XXVII. and recommended from the committee of eleven the
 1799. immediate inrollment of all conscripts of every class,
 and a forced loan of a hundred millions (4,375,000*l.*)
 to be repaid by the sale of national domains. Both
 these measures were ordained, and the committee of
 eleven dissolved.

A club, as nearly similar to that of the jacobins as
 the law would allow, was established at the hall of
 the Manege, under the title of the *Réunion*; the
 members of which produced, like their prototypes,
 denunciations, discussions, and patriotic airs. They
 frequently disturbed the peaceable inhabitants of Paris
 by their excesses, and acquired sufficient influence to
 induce the legislative bodies to institute criminal inter-
 rogatories against Rewbell, Laréveillère, Merlin, and
 Treilhard. However guilty these men might be, it
 was not the wish of the public to see them sacrificed
 to a society which seemed to threaten a revival of the
 system of terror, denunciation, and scaffolds; and
 the council of five hundred, after hearing
 their defences, which contained many curious ^{19th Aug.}
 particulars, refused to sanction the motion for their
 accusation*.

* Chiefly from *Histoire du Directoire Exécutif*, vol. II. chap.
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*Military Preparations of the French—and of the Allies—
 Macdonald retires—Joubert is reappointed Commander
 of the Army of Italy, but obtains the Assistance of Moreau
 —Movements of both Armies—Battle of Novi—
 Further Operations—Conditional Surrender of Tortona
 —Efforts of General Klenau in the Neighbourhood of
 Genoa—Plan of the Imperial Courts—Exertions of the
 French—Surrender of Tortona—Suworow departs for
 Switzerland—Events in that Country—Long Inaction
 —Plan of the French—who expel the Austrians from
 the Cantons of Schweitz and Uri—Arrival of the
 Russian Troops under General Korsakow—Operations
 on the Rhine—The French take Heidelberg and Heil-
 bron—levy Contributions at Frankfort—and invest
 Philippsburgh—Preparations to oppose them—Fatal
 Policy of the Austrian Court—The Archduke quits
 Switzerland—The Investment of Philippsburgh raised
 —The French repass the Rhine—The Archduke takes
 Manheim—Views and Expectations in the Middle of
 September—frustrated by Events in Switzerland—Ac-
 count of these Events—Disadvantages attending the
 Substitution of Russian for Austrian Troops in Switzer-
 land—Unwillingness of Massena to act on the offensive*

—He is however compelled—and defeats the Allies in two bloody Engagements—The French in Possession of all the eastern Part of Switzerland—Progress of Suworow from Italy—His Disappointments, and Vigour in surmounting them—He learns the Defeat of the Allies by Massena—Movements of that General against him—He advances nevertheless to Glarus—whence he is obliged to retire to Chur—Position of the Russians, Austrians, and French—Tardy Exertions of the Archduke—Return of Massena into Zurich—His three Attacks on the Allies in one Day—all which are defeated—View of Losses on both Sides—General Inaction—Suworow joins with Korsakow on the Banks of the Lake of Constance—Massena makes a slight Attack on the Grisons—The Russian Troops withdrawn—British Expedition against Holland—Sailing of the first Division—Various Accidents and Delays—Landing of the Troops—Capture of the Helder—Surrender of the Dutch Fleet—Position chosen by Sir Ralph Abercromby—Exertions of the Republicans—Arrival of the Duke of York with Reinforcements—General Attack on the Republicans—Its Failure—Both Armies occupy their former Positions—New Attack—The Armies take new Positions—Fifth Engagement—its Result—Remonstrance of the General Officers—Retreat of the Allies to their Position at the Zype—Negotiation between the Duke of York and General Brune—Evacuation of Holland by the Allies—Review of Affairs in Italy after the Departure of Suworow—Coni the principal Object

Object of Contest—Movements and Skirmishes on both Sides—Moreau gives up the Command to Championnet—The French expelled from the States of the Church—Series of Skirmishes between Melas and Championnet—The Republicans are at length defeated—They are also defeated near Mondovi, by General Kray—Ancona taken—Siege and Capture of Coni—Melas goes into Winter Quarters—Championnet leaves the Army and dies—Massena succeeds him—Attempt on Genoa—End of the Campaign in Italy—Estimate of Losses—Proceedings on the Rhine after the Departure of the Archduke—Rapid Success of the French—They take Manheim and Heidelberg—drive the Austrians beyond the Entz—and invest Philipshurg—Situation of the Archduke—Alternate Successes of the French and Austrians on the Rhine—The Austrians reinforced—Attack and defeat the French.

MILITARY exertions were languid during the month of July and part of August, but active preparations were made. The French pressed the levy of conscripts, and formed two new armies: one to act on the Rhine, and invade Franconia and Suabia; and the other to cover France on the side of Dauphiné and Provence, to act offensively in Piedmont, and cooperate with the forces which occupied the Genoese. A camp was also marked out near Geneva, intended to protect the entrance of France by the way of the Valais and Savoy.

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The allies, who had made, during four months, the most brilliant of campaigns, were unable, without great reinforcements, to pursue the career of conquest or retain their acquisitions. The courts of London and Petersburg nobly supplied men and money to promote the common cause and extend the sphere of conquest. The emperor of Germany applied for aid to the diet of Ratisbon, but the characteristic tardiness of that body did not permit him to expect immediate assistance. The king of Sweden, as duke of Pomerania, declared himself ready to furnish his contingent; the elector of Bavaria contributed his quota, besides supplying a few thousand men in return for a subsidy; and the duke of Wirtemberg afforded all the assistance which could be drawn from his contracted dominions. The king of Prussia, on the contrary, remained obstinately neuter, and gained over to his system almost all the northern princes of Germany.

These supplies must have proved extremely inadequate; but the emperor of Russia, receiving a subsidy from England, engaged to furnish a new army of forty-five thousand men; ten thousand of whom had already reinforced Suworow, and the residue were expected in the course of August. On the arrival of these forces a new, extensive, and brilliant series of operations was to be commenced, in which England was to co-operate, by invading Holland with thirty thousand British and eighteen thousand Russian troops; and it was hoped that the insurrections in the

Low-countries,

Low-countries, and renewed exertions of the royalists in Brittany, Normandy, and even the south of France, would contribute to the embarrassment of the public.

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At the time the late revolution was effected in the French government, Macdonald had obtained leave to retire for the cure of his wounds; and Moreau being ordered to command on the Rhine, Joubert was replaced by the triumphant party at the head of the army of Italy. The reinstated general had, however, the moderation and wisdom to rely on the undoubted judgment of Moreau, and solicit his stay; and Moreau, whose patriotifm cannot be too highly extolled, consented to aid with his advice the operations of an army he was no longer permitted to control. Under the influence of his judgment, the French, by reconnoitring, by alterations of position, and by changes among the commanders, prepared for a general attack.

Meanwhile general Klenau, acting against Joubert's right wing, drove the advanced posts from the frontiers of Tuscany, rendered himself master of Sarzana and the defile of Pontremoli, took the forts of Sarzanella and Lerici, and all the circumference of the gulph of Spezia except the fort of Sainte Marie. At the same time prince Bagration made progress in the Appenines, pushed forwards till near Gavi, and reduced the fort of Serravalle, in which was a garrison of a hundred and fifty

4th Aug.

7th.

fifty

CHAP. fifty men. Anxious to watch the French, Suworow
 XXVIII. transferred his head-quarters to Novi; but the siege
 1799. of Tortona was still carried on with unremitting
 activity, and general Wuckassowich still retained pos-
 session of Ceva and Mondovi and masked Coni.

14th. After a series of sagacious and masterly
 manœuvres on both sides, the French and
 allied armies found themselves in the presence of each
 other, and nearly equal in force. Joubert, whose
 number was rather the smallest, more than counter-
 balanced that disadvantage by the excellency of his
 position, which was on the summit of the last chain of
 the Appenines to the north, commanding all the
 roads which traversed them, and all the plain below.
 As he would not abandon this advantageous situation,
 Suworow, little accustomed to temporise, and en-
 couraged by the battles of the Adda and the Trebia,
 resolved to commence the attack.

15th. At five o'clock in the morning, generals
 Kray and Bellegarde marched against the left
 of the French: the contest was obstinate and bloody.
 Joubert, animating his followers both by his voice and
 example, was laid dead on the field by a musket-ball.
 Fortunately Moreau was there to resume the com-
 mand; and the assailants, unable to gain the flank of
 the heights on which the French were intrenched,
 were obliged, after several hours of continued efforts,
 to abandon the enterprize. At nine o'clock general
 Suworow attacked the position in front, but without
 success;

success; and in five several assaults, which lasted till three o'clock in the afternoon, the allies were constantly repulsed, and the French seemed confident of at least a negative victory. This advantage was wrested from them by an able operation of general Melas; who, being dispatched by Suworow, marched up the left bank of the Scrivia, and, by a masterly disposition of his force, defeated the French troops sent to oppose him, and at last succeeded in driving them from their central position at Novi. Their retreat towards Gavi and the Bochetta was cut off by prince Lichtenstein, and they were obliged to retire to the left, towards the Ovada. Their movements soon became confused; and at the close of this dreadful day, they had lost 8000 men killed and wounded, 4000 prisoners, and 32 pieces of cannon. The victors had to deplore the unusual loss of 7000 men, of whom not above 600 were prisoners. In this bloody battle nearly one-fifth part of the whole force engaged was slain or wounded; an extent of destruction seldom paralleled.

Moreau, continuing his retreat during the night, brought back the wreck of his army into the defiles of the Appenines; but as the allies contented themselves with resuming the posts which they had occupied before the battle of Novi, the French general still flattered himself with hopes of retaining the Appenines, and returned to Genoa. His plan of conduct was, to defend on his front the passage of the mountains,

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mountains, on his right the Riviera di Levante, on his left to favour the operations of Championnet, and to establish a free communication between himself and this general, whom he had requested to come and take the command of the army. Championnet had already made some progress on the other side of the French Alps, and gained some trifling posts and some leagues of territory; but the commanding situation of Turin secured the allies against all apprehensions. As the movements of this general, however, shewed his intention to penetrate into Piedmont or effect a junction with Moreau, Suworow marched great part of his army towards Asti, and made other dispositions for preventing the effect of his operations.

The chief object of Suworow's offensive projects was Tortona, the siege of which had been pushed for some time with as much vigour as the difficulty of the soil would permit. The commander, general Gast, had entertained hopes of being relieved; but on

23d.

learning the event of the battle of Novi, he agreed to yield on the 11th of September, unless previously succoured. From this period till the end of the month the opposite armies made no attempt on their centre worthy of notice. Their active operations were confined to their wings. General Klenau having gained possession of the fort of Sainte Marie and all the gulph of Spezia, pushed forward within four leagues of Genoa; but Moreau having reinforced general Miollis, who defended the Riviera di Levante,

Klenau

Klenau was repulsed; and for the remainder of the campaign a war of observation and chicane ensued, not materially advantageous to either party. 27th. CHAP. XXVIII.

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Suworow having gained, in consequence of the battle of Novi and the conditional surrender of Tortona, a considerable disposable force, the directory made every exertion to reinforce Championnet, and succeeded in increasing his troops to twenty-five thousand; thus enabling him to threaten Piedmont more seriously than before, and to draw nearer to Moreau, for which purpose he transferred his head-quarters from Briançon to Embrun. He next attacked by the three valleys of Argentiere, Pragelas, and Suza; and gained ground in each. A few days afterwards he was repulsed and worsted near Suza; but he took a revenge the following day, and afterwards gained the town. The allies were also driven from the post of La Thuille: but these affairs were attended with no other consequence except making an advantageous diversion in favour of Massena and Moreau. The French could not hope for any extensive benefit from their exertions in Italy; but they were anxious to retain the allies in that quarter, for the purpose of frustrating other projects. 26th. 30th to 6th Sept.

It was determined by the cabinet of Vienna, that when Suworow could with safety quit Italy he should go to Switzerland, and, uniting himself with the Austrian

CHAP. Austrian troops which the archduke Charles was to
 XXVIII. leave in that quarter, and the new Russian army, com-
 1799. plete the conquest of the country. The archduke
 was, at the same time, to effect some important enter-
 prise on the Lower Rhine; the troops stationed in the
 duchy of Aosta and on the frontier of the Valais
 were to make an active diversion; while the army of
 Melas was to keep in check those of Championnet and
 Moreau in the maritime and French Alps.

Suworow prepared to obey these orders as soon as
 he should have opened the gates of Tortona to the
 Austrians; while the French generals, apprised of the
 project by military or civil spies, endeavoured to im-
 pede its execution by acting on the offensive while
 really inferior in number, and seeming to entertain
 great designs, though without force to carry them
 into effect. In consequence of these views, several
 skirmishes were fought in the early days of September,
 8th. in none of which the republicans were success-
 ful, and they failed most conspicuously in one
 grand effort which appeared calculated for the relief
 of Tortona. This important citadel, being
 11th. left to its fate, opened its gates on the day
 appointed by the provisional capitulation; and Su-
 worow no longer delayed proceeding towards Swit-
 zerland.

The opposed armies in this part of the theatre of
 war found themselves, in the beginning of August, in
 the same positions which they had occupied in June.

The

The inactivity on both sides occasioned much surprize and speculation; but particularly that of Massena, who had been in the interval reinforced with twenty thousand men more than had reached his antagonist. Vast and daring projects of general attack were, however, formed by the directory; in the execution of which, Massena was to drive the archduke from Switzerland or confine him very straitly, and force the position he had taken on the left flank of the French army, so as to interrupt or at least increase the distance of his communications with Suworow.

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In pursuance of this plan, the French general made an attack along the whole line. On his left he assailed the position of the Austrians in ^{14th Aug.} front of Zurich on the points of Wallishofen, Altstetten, and Wiedikon, and caused a strong detachment to pass to the other side of the Limmat. In this attack the French were repulsed after a severe action, in which the Swiss on both sides fought with remarkable animosity; but this operation was chiefly designed to prevent the Austrians from sending reinforcements to their left wing, where the main blow was to be struck. General Chabeau, commanding the right of the corps immediately under Massena's command, extended himself in front of the mountains of the Albis, and got possession, without much difficulty, of almost all the country situated between these mountains and the western bank of the lake of Zurich. General Lecourbe, who had nearly twenty thousand men under his

CHAP. his command, divided into six columns, attacked all
 XXVIII. the positions from mount St. Gothard to the northern
 1799. extremity of the canton of Schweitz. His operations
 were carried on, some upon mountains almost inac-
 cessible, others in deep valleys; the different columns
 could therefore neither act in concert nor communi-
 cate with each other (inconveniences which, being in-
 evitably attached to a war in a mountainous country,
 render it so difficult and dangerous), nor could they
 effect a junction till each had penetrated by the point
 of attack assigned to it, and the object of the expedi-
 tion was accomplished. This was to drive the Au-
 strians from the summits of the most elevated country
 in Europe, from the mountains of St. Gothard, the
 Fura, the Grimfel, and the Oberalb, tops of the great
 Alps; to retake the cantons of Uri and Schweitz;
 and afterwards that of Glarus and the Grey League.

Without describing the operations of each
 14th to 16th. of the columns into which Lecourbe divided
 his army, the valour with which they were opposed, or
 the difficulties they surmounted, it may be sufficient
 to observe that they were successful in every quarter;
 and that Lecourbe found himself in two days master
 of the canton of Schweitz, of almost the whole of
 that of Uri, and of the most elevated points of the
 great chain of the Alps which bounds Switzerland
 to the southward. Generals Jellachich and Sumb-
 schen, who commanded in these cantons, retired; the
 former as far as the extremity of the canton of Glarus
 and

and behind the Linth; the latter into the Grey League, on the mountains of Crispalt, which cover the passes of the Grison country. This latter position commanding the new line which the French had just acquired, and exposing them to be every moment attacked with advantage in the valley of Urseren, Lecourbe expelled the Austrians from it after a spirited defence, in which they were overpowered by numbers.

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Had these events occurred a few days earlier, they would have been in the highest degree distressing to the archduke; but, fortunately, on the very day in which Massena began his attack, general Korsakow, with the first division of the Russian army, arrived by forced marches at Schaffhausen. The archduke was thus enabled to dispatch general Hotze, with several thousand men, to support the corps which had retreated; and on the following days the whole Russian army arrived. Its number was currently stated at thirty-four thousand; but making the proper deductions, it appears to have amounted, including the army of Condé, to no more than twenty-eight thousand effective men. The French were now in their turn afraid of being overpowered by numbers, and the defeat sustained by their army at Novi at the same period increased their apprehensions; but nothing further was attempted during the remainder of this month except affairs of posts, in which lives were lost without advantage to either party.

On

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On the right bank of the Rhine, as in Switzerland, the French had been deterred from attacking till the moment was come for a general operation, and till their numbers were sufficiently increased to promise success. This army was commanded *ad interim* by general Muller, and his head-quarters being at Straßburg, he was expected to attack as before the valleys of Kintzing and Renchen; but whether his operations were disconcerted by the failure at Novi, or whether the French had originally formed some other plan, he withdrew the troops from before Kehl, and marched on the left bank of the Rhine towards the bishopric of Spire and the Palatinate. On the 25th, ten thousand republicans passed the Rhine at Mannheim; and being but feebly opposed by the Austrians, who had only two thousand regulars, assisted by about ten thousand armed but undisciplined peasants, gained possession of Heidelberg and Heilbron, and extended themselves over the country lying between the Rhine and the Necker. At the same period another division, under general Baraguay d'Hilliers, set out from Mentz; reached the gates of Franckfort, where, notwithstanding the agreed neutrality, they levied contributions; pushed an advanced guard towards Aschaffenburg; and then, marching to the Lower Necker, joined the centre of the army of the Rhine. General Muller was, by the course of these operations, enabled to advance with considerable strength

strength on his right, and commenced an investment and bombardment of Philipsburg. CHAP.
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When intelligence of this inroad reached Donaueschingen, where general Sztaray commanded a *corps de reserve*, he set out with some thousand men towards the Necker and the Entz; the French were checked, and obliged to evacuate the country of Baden. Durlach and concentrate themselves in the bishopric of Spire and the Palatinate. Other measures were adopted, which would have been sufficient both in extent and vigour to prevent the republicans from penetrating into Suabia and Franconia, to raise the siege of Philipsburg, and drive them down the whole course of the Necker and Mein. Thus might the archduke have been left to achieve, in conjunction with Suworow, the conquest of Switzerland, according to the general plan concurred in by the allies; but this plan was never acceptable to the court of Vienna. There the successes already obtained by the archduke occasioned more pain than satisfaction; and his long inactivity was more owing to the intrigues of the Austrian cabinet, than to any impossibility of pursuing his glorious and hopeful career.

The incursions of the French on the Mein, and their march towards Suabia, furnished the desired pretext for avoiding a co-operation with the Russians; and the archduke, the unwilling instrument of Austrian policy, pretending alarm at the danger which threatened Germany and that part of his army which

was

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CHAP. was on the right bank of the Rhine, prepared to
 XXVIII. withdraw his troops from Switzerland. He intrusted
 1799. general Hotze with the defence of the small cantons,
 and augmented his force for that purpose to twenty
 thousand men ; the Austrians on the banks of the
 Limmat and the Aar, and in front of Zurich, were re-
 placed by Russians ; and general Nauendorf was left
 with about 10,000 men upon the right bank of the
 Rhine, to form a body of observation and of reserve.
 Thus the archduke, with about 30,000 men, quitted
 Switzerland ; leaving to defend the conquered part of
 the country 55,000, of whom 40,000 were opposed
 to Massena from the Grison country to the mouth of
 the Aar.

5th to The archduke remained a few days at St.
 11th. Blaife in the Black Forest, for the purpose of
 leaving Massena uncertain as to his future destination ;
 but a column, dispatched for the purpose, having
 reached Stutgard and marched towards the Necker,
 he hastily repaired to Vahingen, where were the head-
 quarters of general Sztaray. The march of the
 archduke's army proving that he intended to collect
 the majority of his forces against Muller, a diversion
 was attempted by the troops which occupied Kehl, in
 the valley of Kintzing ; but they were easily repulsed,
 and the perfidy of the French in levying contributions
 at Frankfort was punished by the rising *en masse* of
 the subjects of the elector of Mentz and the inhabit-
 ants of the Speffart, who formed a corps of fifteen
 thousand

thousand disciplined men, and obliged Baraguay d'Hilliers to fall back to Mentz. The investment of Philipsburg was hastily raised, after a furious bombardment of six days, which reduced the town to ashes; and the besieging forces, passing on the left bank of the Rhine, went down towards Worms. General Muller, who had successively withdrawn his headquarters from Wisloch to Schwetzingen and thence to Mannheim, caused his artillery and baggage to be transported to the other side of the river; withdrew from Heidelberg, and, subsequently crossing the Rhine himself, lined the bank with his army from Spirebach to Mentz, the only part which was not protected by fortresses.

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The archduke, whose light troops had followed the republicans in their retreat, marched with the bulk of his army, about twenty thousand men, towards Heidelberg and Mannheim; and, judging by the solicitude of the French the importance they attached to the preservation of the latter place, resolved not to give them time to establish themselves, and hoped by their expulsion to give lustre to his expedition. He therefore successively attacked the village of Neckerau, the post of Holtzoff, and the chain of works raised in front of Mannheim on the land side, carried them all in the most brilliant manner, and finally gained the town itself, which he garrisoned, and destroyed the outer intrenchments. After obtaining these advantages, the archduke fixed his head-

8th.

CHAP. quarters at Schwetzingen, and dispatched a body of
 XXVIII. light troops with flying artillery, which enabled the
 1799. people of Mentz, who had risen *en masse*, to repel the
 republicans in every direction, and, besides gaining
 them booty and inuring them to fighting, inspired
 them with the confidence arising from success.

The position of the Imperial troops in the countries
 of which the French had been in peaceable possession
 since the commencement of the campaign; the stay of
 the archduke at Schwetzingen; the magazines which
 he caused to be formed upon the Mein and the
 Necker; the equipage of pontoons which was on its
 way; the presence of more than forty thousand Au-
 strians on the right bank of the Rhine; the daily
 increasing armament of the inhabitants; the exhorta-
 tions to an insurrection which general Sztaray had
 publicly made to the Brabanters; the pressing solici-
 tations which were made to the princes of the empire
 to furnish their contingents; the grand attack which
 forty-five thousand English and Russians at that time
 were making on the north of Holland; the probability
 that they would deliver this part of the country as far
 as the line of the Wahal; the king of Prussia's sending
 a body of troops to Wesel, to guarantee, at all events,
 the possession of his provinces beyond the Rhine; the
 announced march of Suworow into Switzerland;—all
 tended to make it believed at that time that the war,
 already so extended, would take a still wider range;
 that the Lower Rhine would afford a new theatre for
 it;

it; and that the allies aspired to attack that mass of French conquests in the north-west of Europe. In one word, it was the general idea, that before the end of the campaign, for the first time, no doubt, since the creation of the world, the flames of war would burn from the Zuider Zee to the banks of the Tiber. Such was the public expectation towards the end of September. The French, shut up in Mentz and Ehrenbreitstein, dared not to keep the field on these points: general Muller, whom the war of Holland had deprived of the reinforcements which had been intended for him, confined himself to fortify the left bank of the Rhine; and waited with uneasiness at Turckheim, where he had placed his head-quarters, for the moment when the designs attributed to prince Charles should be more fully unfolded. This uncertainty was, however, terminated by intelligence of recent transactions in Switzerland, which it now becomes necessary to relate.

The Russian troops left to supply the deficiency of the Austrians in Switzerland were in every respect, except valour, inferior to them. They were less numerous, unused to the warfare of mountainous regions, unacquainted with the language of the people whose territory they came to defend, and led by general Korfakow, a man in all military qualities inferior to the archduke. The French, however, had been so much misinformed on this point, that they viewed their new opponents with

CHAP. apprehension, and did not for eleven days attempt
 XXVIII. offensive operations. At the end of that time they
 1799. made an unsuccessful attack on the post of Wallis-
 hofsen, and Massena apologised for his failure by re-
 peating the observation of Frederick the Great on
 the Russians—"You may kill them, but can neither
 make them retreat nor yield." Three weeks in
 September passed away undistinguished by any exertion,
 except trifling affairs in the Grisons and in the
 cantons of Schweitz and Glarus.

As, after the departure of the archduke, Massena was superior by twenty thousand men to the force by which he was opposed; and as the disorder occasioned by removing and replacing troops in the face of an enemy, and many other circumstances, seemed so much in his favour; no small surprize was excited by his obstinate inaction. The directory had frequently given orders for offensive operations, which were constantly evaded; and not even the knowledge that Suworow had commenced his march towards Switzerland could rouse Massena to exertion. A positive order at length arrived, leaving him only the choice of attacking or being ignominiously deprived of his command; and this decided him to prepare for an assault along his whole line. At the same moment the Russians were preparing for an active exertion, dictated by letter from Suworow, and which the altered state of the force in Switzerland rendered necessary. Its object was to recover possession of the small cantons,

tons, and turn the position so long held by Massena on the lakes of Lucerne and Zug, and on the Albis, which would have obliged him to retire on the Aar, the whole line of which it would have been impossible for him to preserve. After performing the operations necessary to this end, the three allied corps were to unite in the canton of Lucerne, under the command of marshal Suworow; and thus to give him an army of more than sixty thousand men, with which he flattered himself that he should terminate the campaign in Switzerland as brilliantly and as usefully as he had begun it in Italy.

Massena, being well apprised of these intentions and of the moment intended for their execution, anticipated his opponents by putting in motion fifty thousand men on the line from the Linth to the Aar, twenty-four hours before the time when they meant to engage; a strong division having thrown a bridge over the Linth, near Wesen, defeated a battalion of the regiment of Bender, and a Hungarian battalion which advanced to its support. Roused by the noise, and convinced that the attack was of the most serious description, general Hotze hastened with his staff from his head-quarters to reconnoitre; but a discharge of musketry from a party of French rangers struck him almost dead from his horse*, and the

* Hotze fell into the hands of the French, but expired in a few hours. His corpse was restored to the Austrians, and interred at Bregentz with merited funeral honours.

greater

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 XXVIII. killed, wounded, or captured.

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During these transactions, the republicans had established a bridge at the extremity of the lake at Zurich, and advanced in force towards Schmerickens; but they were attacked by the Russians, who were coming from Rapperschwill, and repulsed as far as their bridge, which being broken down, all that remained on the right bank were either killed, taken, or drowned. This might have restored affairs on the Linth, if general Petrarch, to whom the command devolved after Hotze, had also stood firm; but, fearing to be turned on his right, he made a precipitate retreat by the Toggemburg, nor discontinued it till he reached the Rhinthal; thus abandoning the whole of eastern Switzerland, uncovering the left flank of the Russians, leaving without remedy any check they might experience, and rendering of no avail any success which might attend their resistance.

A division of French near Bruck amused the Russians by a feint, while another division threw a bridge over the Limmat near Dietikon, and two more attacked Wallishofen and other posts; but the Russians, being on their guard, repulsed them on every side. Notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they were assailed, they would have made Massena repent his enterprise but for the ineptitude or treachery of general Petrarch and the total want of judgment of general Korsakow, who, after ruining his army
 by

by being perpetually the dupe of every feint, was obliged to retire into Zurich, which the French, who were complete masters of Zurichberg, immediately invested.

From this situation Korfakow meditated a retreat; and Massena, who knew what he ^{26th.} had to fear if he drove the Russians to the desperate extremity of forcing their way with the bayonet, took measures for facilitating their escape. Even in this operation Korfakow shewed a fatal want of judgment. The road to Winterthur was open, but by that he sent only a small part of his troops and baggage, advancing with his main body towards Eglisau, where the French were in full force. Expecting, from the known character of the Russians, a vigorous attack, Massena's troops, who were advantageously posted on heights commanding the road, suffered them to approach, and then opened a tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry. The Russian regiments, drawn up rather in order of retreat than battle, performed prodigies of valour, rushing repeatedly with fixed bayonets on their adversaries, and forcing them to give way: but as the regiments came individually into action, they were successively overwhelmed; and, after being broken on all points and losing a considerable number of men, as well as artillery, baggage, and treasure, Korfakow, with the remainder of his army, forced his way to Eglisau, and hastily crossed the Rhine. This event, with the retreat of the Austrians
towards

CHAP. towards the Rhinthal, left all eastern Switzerland open,
 XXVIII. which was speedily overrun by the republicans.

1799. The departure of Suworow from Italy had been
 11th to delayed three days by the efforts of the
 15th. French to relieve Tortona; but by forced
 marches he repaired that delay, and in five days had
 advanced as far as Taverna, near Bellinzona, the
 place where he had appointed to be at that time. He
 had here the mortification to find his meritorious ex-
 ertions rendered useless by, what in his indignation
 he termed, the shameful equivocal promises of the
 Austrian commissaries. After losing three days in en-
 deavouring to obtain from the country a sufficient
 number of beasts of burthen, which the Austrians had
 promised but failed to supply, he was obliged to dis-
 mount his coffacks, and employ their horses in trans-
 porting the baggage. The impossibility of using
 carriages in the roads of the great Alps had obliged
 him to send his artillery by the lake of Como and
 the route of Chiavenna, whence it afterwards re-
 joined him in the country of the Grisons.

19th to Due preparations having been at length
 25th. made, generals Rosenber and Suworow, pur-
 suing a well-concerted plan, passed the St. Gothard, and
 arrived, without serious opposition, at a post beyond
 Wafen. The Austrian corps in the Grisons putting
 themselves in motion to co-operate with the Russians,
 general Lecourbe, who had also moved on the same
 day, found himself between the two columns, and
 did

did not succeed without considerable loss in cutting his way through the Austrians; after which he hastily evacuated Altorf, and passed to the other side of the Reufs, in order to cover the country of Underwald and the Engelberg.

In conformity to previous arrangements, 26th to
27th. generals Lincken and Jellachich were to have marched into the canton of Glarus, to join on their right with Hotze and on their left with Suworow. Jellachich had accordingly departed from Sargans, and penetrated as far as Miollis; but, learning the disasters of the preceding day, hastily measured back his steps towards Sargans. Linchen had advanced with three thousand five hundred men by the difficult road of Pannick, Elm, and Schwanden in the canton of Glarus, defeated a column under general Soult, taken eleven hundred prisoners, and made himself master of Glarus. He did not find, however, that any force, either Russian or Austrian, had penetrated into the canton; and being therefore unable to execute his original instructions, and without communication, he also retired.

Meanwhile Suworow, always following 27th. up his original plan, pushed his advanced guard across the Culemberg as far as Mutten, where he expected to be joined by general Lincken; but learned, from a picquet which he had captured, that the French were still masters of Glarus. On 20th. the following day, the remainder of his army arrived

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arrived at Mitten ; and there Suworow first learned, by an express from general Lincken, the disastrous events which had taken place on the Linth and the Limmat. The sensations of the old warrior at this afflicting intelligence, by which he found that one day of folly and misconduct had frustrated all his hopes of glory for the rest of the campaign, can be conceived, but not expressed. He was still, however, too magnanimous to despair, or seek safety by a retreat which he considered inglorious ; and, still hoping to find sufficient force remaining with Korsakow and Petrarch to achieve some considerable exploit, he wrote to the Russian generals, " You will answer with your heads for every further step that you retreat ; I am coming to repair your faults."

29th.

He was doomed, however, to the increased mortification of remaining stationary a whole day, for want of bread and mules.

The surprise of Suworow at learning the defeat of the Russian army was not greater than that of Massena on being apprised of his rapid and victorious march. It was now become necessary to crush this brave and enterprising veteran, or again to lose the smaller cantons. On a view of Suworow's force, consisting of less than seventeen thousand men, entangled among the defiles of the small cantons, without artillery and almost without cavalry (the cossacks having dismounted, that their horses might carry the bread and baggage), Massena contemplated them as a prey which could

could hardly escape; he already formed the brilliant hope of treating this Russian army as the first, and thus burying under the mountains of Switzerland the glory of the conqueror of Italy.

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When Suworow was supplied with provisions he put his army in motion by the Muttenthal; ^{30th.} prince Bagration commanding his advanced guard, and general Rosenberg being left with the rear-guard at Muten. A French division sent upon the Linth, having taken an advantageous position on the Clonthalersee, perceiving the approach of a small column under general Auffenberg, attacked and, having almost surrounded it, summoned the general to surrender: instead, however, of yielding to this demand, he defended himself till prince Bagration came up, when the French were repulsed with great loss. The main Russian army arrived at night-fall; and the next day the republicans were attacked in ^{1st Oct.} their positions on the mountains, and defeated with the loss of many men and some pieces of artillery, which, from the impossibility of carrying them away, Suworow caused to be buried.

Meanwhile Massena, having joined Lecourbe at Altorf, began a pursuit of the ^{30th Sept.} and ^{1st Oct.} Russians in the valley of Muten: but his advanced guard, consisting of four thousand men, was defeated and repulsed by general Rosenberg; and on the following day he himself, advancing with nearly seven thousand men towards the same point, met the same fate.

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fate. These advantages gave the Ruffians peaceable possession of the road from the Schweitz to Glarus, where Suworow collected his sick and wounded. Being disappointed, however, in his expectation of a junction with some Austrian corps, he was reluctantly obliged to provide for the safety of his army, already much committed. After allowing them three days'

5th. repose, he commenced his march towards the Grisons; leaving his sick and wounded, whom it was impossible to transport, at Glarus. Amidst incredible difficulties and dangers, the veteran hero conducted his troops through the valley of Fleim to the Rhine, losing great part of his beasts of burthen and baggage, and a large number of soldiers

8th. who were not in a condition to follow the main body. At length the whole remaining force was reunited in the environs of Chur, having sustained in this short but terrible campaign a loss of about three thousand men; that of the French amounting, in the same period, to four thousand.

On their retreat from Zurich, the Ruffians under Korfakow had quitted Constance; but afterwards regained it, fixing there the left of their defensive line, and their right at Eglifau. They were strengthened by a *corps de reserve* under general Nauendorf, by about two thousand four hundred men of the Bavarian contingents, and by the small but brave army of the prince de Condé, which, including a body of Ruffian hussars, amounted to about five thousand men. Be-

yond

yond the city of Constance, which was occupied by this little army, the western part of the lake of that name was abandoned by the allies as far as Rhineck. CHAP. XXVIII.
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General Petrarch occupied the Rheinthal, his headquarters being at Fieldkirch; while the greater part of the French force remained in the canton of Zurich, almost inactive through the departure of Massena for the cantons of Lucerne, Schweitz, and Glarus.

When the archduke learned the defeat of the allies on the Linth and the Limmat, he felt alarmed at the dangers which menaced Suabia and the country of the Grifons; and, leaving part of his force under the command of prince Schwartzenberg for the protection of the Necker and Mein, hastened to Donaueschingen with the remainder. He could not hope to repair the losses sustained on the 25th and 26th of September; but flattered himself that, in consequence of the successes obtained by Suworow, he might make a diversion in his favour, by carrying the war into Zurich. This resolution was, however, too tardily adopted; for, before its execution could be attempted, Massena was returned into the canton with his troops. 4th Oct.

This general, freed from all apprehensions from the Russian army of Italy, sent one division into the canton of Appenzel, to keep general Petrarch in awe; and meditated a general attack on the positions of the allies, for the purpose of driving them entirely on the other

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other side of the Rhine. In consequence, a strong column from his centre suddenly attacked the intrenched posts before the city of Constance; but, by the bravery of the corps of Condé, the assailants were everywhere repulsed, though the corps, too weak for long contention, was afterwards obliged to evacuate the city, and encamp on the other side of the lake; the headquarters being at Stahringen, near Stockach. In other points, the republicans were still less successful; they were defeated in an attempt against the tête de pont at Dissenhoffen, and prevented, after being three times worsted, from attacking that of Busingen. These three engagements, fought in one day, which cost the allies nearly two thousand men, and the French no less, ended the important contests of this campaign in Switzerland; the remainder of the year being consumed in skirmishes, unproductive of any considerable results. The total loss of the allies from the 25th of September to the 9th of October is calculated, after making proper allowances for wilful or accidental exaggerations, at about fifteen thousand men; that of the French, during the same period, at nine thousand.

When the republicans had obtained possession of Switzerland as far as the Rhine, and Suworow had joined the allies in the Grisons, it was found that the opposed forces were nearly equal. On one side of the lake of Constance, the troops which had returned with

with the archduke, joined to those which had remained upon the right shore, to the wrecks of Kor-fakow's army, to that of the prince de Condé, and to the Bavarian contingent, amounted to more than forty-five thousand men. On the other side of the lake, the junction of Suworow with the Austrians, supported by about five thousand armed inhabitants of the country of the Grisons, the Voralberg, and the Tyrol, formed no less than thirty thousand men. Massena, therefore, had seventy-five thousand men against him; and had not more under his command; nor could he bring so many into the field, owing to the defective supply of arms and provisions, the want of pay and rations, and the disordered state of their equipment, which rendered them unfit for active service. Many felt surprised that no greater exploit was attempted; but it appears that prudential motives of great weight deterred the leaders on both sides.

After reposing two or three days in the environs of Chur, Suworow effected, on the banks of the lake of Constance, a junction with Kor-fakow's troops. The united Russian armies formed about twenty-five thousand men, the remains of seventy thousand nominally, but fifty thousand really, supplied by Paul I. for the campaign. Of the number deficient the most probable calculation is, that eight thousand fell by the sword, seven thousand were made prisoners, and the hospitals received the other ten thousand

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CHAP. thousand either as wounded or sick. Suworow and
 XXVIII. Korfakow had nearly the same number of men under
 1799. their command ; and the former, during more than
 six months of the most active and eventful campaign,
 lost no greater number in killed, and not nearly so
 many prisoners, as the other in the space of fifteen
 days : the first enjoyed the honour of victory, the se-
 cond endured the shame of defeat. Such is the dif-
 ference resulting from the choice of generals.

31st. Massena made a slight attack on the Gri-
 fons, but not sufficiently vigorous to divert
 the attention of the archduke from reinforcing the
 positions left unguarded by the retreat of the two
 Russian armies behind the lake of Constance. Friendly
 communication was no longer maintained between

30th. the commanders : Suworow continued his
 head-quarters at Lindau till the end of Oc-
 tober, without having had an interview with the arch-
 duke ; and then, quitting the banks of the lake of

8th Nov. Constance, repaired with his whole army
 and that of the prince of Condé, first to
 Augsberg, and, after several contradictory orders
 from the court of Petersburg, to Prague, whence he
 subsequently continued his march into Russia. This
 event, marking in the strongest manner the dissatis-
 faction of Paul I., was more regretted than wondered
 at ; but hostilities, for the remainder of the year, were
 not in this quarter conducted in such a manner as to
 excite either apprehension or hope.

Mention

Mention has already been made of the expedition projected by the British government against Holland, or rather against the French in that country. The emancipation of the United Provinces from the gripping usurpation of France was in the highest degree desirable; and the state of military affairs in the course of the summer afforded every reasonable encouragement to the enterprise. France seemed at a loss for resources against the powerful and fortunate combination which assailed her on all sides; while Great Britain, victorious in every quarter, and triumphant over those rebels whom France had armed for her destruction, possessed the most ample means, military, naval, and financial, for the accomplishment of a great undertaking.

Towards the close of the spring, preparations for this expedition were commenced; and thirty thousand British, and seventeen thousand Russian troops in the pay of Great Britain, were to be employed. In deliberating on the project, it was agreed that the province of Holland, which contains half the population and pays two-fifths of the imposts of the whole republic, and Amsterdam, its capital, were the most desirable objects of attainment. The southern frontier was well defended with fortresses; but the country north of Amsterdam was entirely neglected, there being in Friesland only two fortified places, Lewarden and Harlingen, and not one in the whole peninsula of North Holland. The attack of this part of the republic was therefore one of the principal plans provi-

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tionally formed; and the preference was strengthened by the hope of gaining the remainder of the Dutch fleet, which had taken refuge behind the island of the Texel.

The English troops employed in this enterprize formed two divisions; the first, commanded by sir Ralph Abercromby, was to effect a landing, and speedily to be followed by a reinforcement, and afterwards by the remainder of the army, the chief command of which was to be assumed by the duke of York. Admiral Mitchell was to escort the first division, and undertake the attack on the Texel. The length of time necessarily employed in planning the expedition and collecting the troops, afforded the enemy every means of acquiring correct information of the general objects of their destination; and therefore, all hopes of surprize being frustrated, the army assembled at Barham Downs, and the first division embarked at Deal, Ramsgate, and Margate.

The selection of the first point of attack being left to sir Ralph Abercromby, he fixed on the Helder; but the squadron was detained at sea several days by adverse winds and calms. During this anxious interval the commanders had a conference with lord Duncan, from whom they obtained ten ships of the line, which were placed under admiral Mitchell. Orders were, at length, given for the disembarkation between Kickduyn and Callants Oog; and a flag of truce with a summons

summons was dispatched to admiral Story and co-^{CHAP.}
 lonel Gilquin, who commanded at the Helder, with ^{XXVII.}
 a declaration and proclamation from the prince of 1799.
 Orange and the British commander to the Dutch
 people. The republicans had been so completely de-
 ceived with respect to the point on which a landing
 would be attempted, that no means of defence were
 adopted; and the fleet and the whole peninsula would
 probably have fallen without contest into the power of
 the English, but for an unfortunate alteration
 of the wind, which, when they were on the ^{22d to}
 point of disembarking, forced them out to sea. ^{26th.} When
 the abatement of the storm permitted a renewal of the
 enterprize, sir Ralph Abercromby was not uncon-
 scious that he must expect resistance; but still, con-
 sidering it extremely improbable that the island of
 Welcheren and the banks of the Meuse should be un-
 garrisoned to oppose him, he adhered to his original
 point of destination.

At the time when the British fleet approached the
 coast, there were in the United Provinces twenty
 thousand national and ten thousand French troops,
 under the command of general Brune: but as the
 French directory had not expected an attack on North
 Holland, no preparations were made in that quarter,
 nor was it till after the summons had been delivered
 to admiral Story, that general Daendels received
 orders to assemble his division; but before the British
 fleet re-appeared, he had collected ten thousand three

CHAP. hundred and thirty-four men on a line of thirty-six
 XXVIII. miles from the Helder to Haarlem, a force nearly
 1799. equal to that in admiral Mitchell's fleet.

Besides the multitude of canals with which, as in every other part of the United Provinces, the country is intersected, the western coast exhibits a peculiar feature; a chain of sand-hills, which bounds, or rather forms, the coast, intersected at intervals towards the land, and forming, on the whole front, an amphitheatre towards the sea, not exceeding in some places two hundred paces in breadth, though in others upwards of a thousand. Although it rises considerably above the shore, particularly near Huyfduinen, it is scarcely fifty feet high towards the land, but steep and almost perpendicular. It commands on this side a vast marshy meadow intersected by a great number of ditches called the Koegrass. The road from the Helder to Alkmaar passes through this meadow (from which it is separated by a very wide ditch) and the sand-hills which it skirts.

27th. On this spot general Daendels made dispositions for defence; and, being informed by a telegraphic signal that the British fleet had cast anchor, prepared to oppose a disembarkation. The British commanders made exertions, equally vigorous and judicious, to force a landing; and the third brigade having reached the shore, under sir James Pulteney and general Coote, compelled the republicans to retire in every direction, and became masters
 of

of the whole extent of the downs which separate the sea and the plain. The rest of the troops were thus enabled to land without interruption, and defeated the Dutch, who made two obstinate though ill-conducted attacks. General Daendels immediately evacuated the Helder; and the British, taking possession of that place and Huyfduinen, gained a hundred pieces of cannon, the greatest part of which, though spiked, were soon rendered fit for service. A reinforcement of five thousand men arrived the same day under general Don; and the troops were actively employed in securing their position, and buoyed up with sanguine hopes of ultimate success.

The maritime object of the expedition was achieved before the end of the month. Admiral Story had received orders, which he was well disposed to obey, to defend himself to the utmost: but his subordinate officers and crews were anxious to shew their attachment to the house of Orange; and the admiral, finding he could not rely on his men, was obliged to surrender his squadron, consisting of thirteen ships of war together with three Indiamen and some transports, by capitulation.

This auspicious event enabled sir Ralph Abercromby to advance and fortify himself in the Zype; while general Daendels, retreating before him, left open the whole country between the sea and Alkmaar. At this place French troops were

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28th.

28th to
30th.

1st to
8th Sept.

continually

CHAP. continually arriving; and general Brune, having joined
 XXVIII. them, ordered new dispositions of the line of defence,
 1799. and concentrated his army in the front of the town,
 with its right at Ruftenburg, its centre occupying
 Saint Pancrass, and its left extending to the sand-hills
 near Groet. The arrival of the Batavian general
 Dumonceau raised the force in this quarter to twenty
 thousand, of whom seven thousand were Frenchmen.
 Other measures were taken for augmenting these
 troops, arming the national guards, and particularly
 for defending Amsterdam.

10th. While sir Ralph Abercromby was judi-
 ciously employed in fortifying his position, and
 expecting the reinforcements from Great Britain and
 Russia, general Brune, having a considerable superiority
 of numbers, marched in three columns to attack him.
 The left, composed of French troops, made a most
 spirited assault and gained some ground, though
 ultimately repulsed and obliged to fall back to
 Alkmaar. The Batavian division of the centre shewed
 equal courage; but, being resolutely encountered by
 only five companies of the twentieth regiment led by
 sir Ralph in person, was also obliged, after two
 desperate assaults on the intrenchments, to retire.
 The right, under general Daendels, did not display
 equal resolution; but, having driven the picquets from
 the village of St. Martin, retired on the approach of
 some troops from Schagen. The English bought the
 victory of this day with the loss of thirty-four men
 killed,

killed, a hundred and twenty-five wounded, and eighteen missing. The loss of the republicans was at first estimated at about a thousand; but it was afterwards known, by the report of their own officers, that it amounted to two thousand, of whom twelve hundred were French: one of their generals (David) was killed.

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Sir Ralph Abercromby's expectations of reinforcement were soon gratified by the arrival of the second division of Russians, and of the duke of York and three brigades of British troops; which raised the numbers of the army to thirty-three thousand effective men, of whom twelve hundred were light dragoons.

Although at the time when the duke of York assumed the command, he had a superiority in numbers, that was his only advantage, and must daily decrease. The republicans had put into full vigour their measures for defence; and the inhabitants of the country who in secret inclined to the prince of Orange, were afraid to manifest their sentiments while their oppressors retained a sufficient military power to dispute possession of the country. The British commander, sensible of the fatal effects of delay, and that his only hope consisted in a vigorous operation, projected an attack on his opponents, which he carried into execution as soon as possible after the landing of the troops. He divided his force into four columns; one of which, composed principally of

Russians

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Russians under general Herman, advancing two hours before day-break, made a vigorous and spirited though irregular attack; and, after pushing forward with inconceivable impetuosity by Camperduyn, forcing the intrenchments of Slaperdike, carrying the villages of Groet and Schorel, and proceeding some space further, was obliged, after expending its ammunition, to retire with great loss and in confusion towards the village of Schorel. A second column, under general Dundas, with three Russian battalions under general Sedmoratsky, moving at break of day, the time fixed for the operation, took the village of Warmenhuyfen, carried the intrenched post of Schoreldam, and, passing the canal of Alkmaar, proceeded to Schorel, when their progress was disconcerted by the retreat of the Russians of the first column, the inevitable result of their precipitate advance. Even in these circumstances the duke of York, by a spirited and successful charge on the pursuing forces, gained advantages sufficient to restore the day, had it been possible to arrest the flight of the Russians and form them on the right of the English on the sand-hills. Every effort for this purpose having failed, no resource was left but to protect their disorderly retreat, and withdraw the British forces to their first position.

The failure of the enterprize in these two quarters was rendered the more mortifying, by the complete and even unexpected success of the third column under sir James Pulteney. These troops had, with
great

great bravery, expelled general Daendels from an almost impregnable position formed by the villages of Oudescarapel, Noordeharwoude, Zuydshaarwoude, and Broeck, on the head of the Langedike, formed a difficult junction with major-general Coote, and was proceeding to St. Pancras, to co-operate, according to the original plan, in the attack of the Koedike; when, in consequence of the disasters attending the Russian column, he was directed to secure a retreat, which he effected in good order, having killed and wounded seven hundred of his opponents, made nine hundred prisoners, and thrown into the canal the cannon which he had taken in the intrenchments, and which the badness of the roads did not permit him to carry off. Sir Ralph Abercromby with the fourth column had taken the town of Hoorn without resistance, and was preparing to march towards Schermerhorn; when the event so disastrous to the whole plan was announced to him, accompanied with orders also to retire, which he did without opposition. Such was the result of this day; in which, if the allies failed in their main object, the cause of their disappointment proves the judgment of the plan: their success was complete in every direction; but the precipitancy of one column, preventing the support of the others, ruined the enterprise. Besides their killed and wounded, the republicans lost three thousand prisoners: the British had a hundred and seventeen killed, four hundred and nine wounded, and four hundred and ninety

CHAP. ninety missing; the Russians seventeen hundred and
 XXVIII. forty-five killed or taken, and twelve hundred and
 1799. twenty-five wounded. After the action both parties
 resumed their former stations.

Convinced by the danger he had incurred that his position was faulty, general Brune employed his utmost efforts in increasing its strength, and securing it from an attack which the duke of York was again extremely anxious to make. He had received intelligence that his opponent was not yet reinforced as 25th and he had expected, while his own loss in the late 26th. engagement was recruited by the arrival of another division of Russians and some British troops.

During these events admiral Mitchell equipped a small flotilla, which proceeded up the Zuyder Zee, captured every vessel which bore the flag of the Batavian republic, and forced several places to submit to the authority of the stadtholder; but he was disappointed in finding that these professions were limited to the very spots where his power existed, and produced no corresponding effects in the country.

The preparations made by the duke of 2d Oct. York for a renewed attack, were long delayed by tempests which laid the plains and sea-shores under water. The second assault was to be made by thirty thousand men, divided into four columns, to whom about twenty-five thousand, mostly French, were opposed. The object was to dislodge the enemy from the main position of Bergen:—this post was to be

YORK

turned

turned and taken in *reverse* by the column under general Abercromby; it was to be attacked in front by that of general Essen; which was to be supported by two brigades of the third column: the latter had for its particular object to carry Schoreldam; and the fourth was purely one of observation and reserve. The Russians were to act in the centre, and the English on the two wings. Without detailing the particular operations of each division, it may be sufficient to observe that the hopes of total success were again frustrated by the Russians, who, contrary to their conduct on the 19th of September, refused to advance after they had captured the villages of Groet and Schorel, and were even with difficulty prevented from retreating from Schoreldam*. The contest was vigorous and obstinate in all directions; the

* This diversity of conduct in the same troops is accounted for by the author on whom I have principally relied (the same who wrote the anonymous History of the Campaigns of 1796, &c.) by adverting to the grand principle of the Russians, implicit obedience to their commanders. The valour and discipline of their infantry are superior to all eulogy; but they are badly supplied with cavalry, artillery, staff officers, and engineers, and are incapable of the arts of manœuvring. A general who would command them with success, must understand and comply with the peculiar bent of their genius: thus Herman could lead them to acts of excessive valour tending only to misfortune, and Korsakow to inevitable destruction; Essen could restrain them in bonds like those of cowardice; but Suworow possessed the peculiar art of rendering all their virtues, and even all their prejudices and all their faults, conducive to the grand interests of the service.

CHAP. allies remained masters of the field, and the republic-
 XXVIII. ans retreated during the night to a new position.

1799. The victory, however, was not sufficient to prevent their retaining a force adequate to the maintenance of a long contest, and therefore not commensurate to the wishes or expectations of the British commander. His force was reduced by the loss of two thousand one hundred and twenty-five men, including officers, killed, wounded, and prisoners; nor was he consoled by the reflection, that the loss of his opponents considerably exceeded three thousand.

In consequence of this contest, the duke of York had gained the whole extent of country between Egmont-op-Zee and Alkmaar, and it may be said also of that between that town and the Zuyder Zee, and employed himself in fortifying his new positions. Still he was under the necessity, notwithstanding the diminution of his force and the severity of the season, of

6th. making further advances, or renouncing his enterprize. As a preparatory measure, he dispatched general Don on a mission to the Batavian directory; but Brune, in defiance of the laws of war, of honour, and humanity, not only refused him a passport, but detained him prisoner, under false and futile pretences. At the same period, the duke of York directed the advanced posts of the front and centre to push forward, in order to prepare and facilitate a general attack which he had in contemplation. The Russians took the village of Baccum; but, conceiving

ceiving that the possession of a height beyond it would make them more secure, exceeded their orders by advancing to Castricum. This brought on, by degrees, an unpremeditated and general engagement, which was fought with great obstinacy, and proved extremely destructive: it equally frustrated the intended operations of both parties; but the allies found their situation daily worse, their force consuming, and their hopes of co-operation from the natives diminishing, while their antagonists were continually receiving reinforcements, and gaining courage by the prosperous turn of their affairs not only in Holland but in other quarters.

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Impressed with this view of affairs, sir Ralph Abercromby and the other general officers drew up a representation to the commander in chief, shewing the reduced state of the troops, which had suffered a diminution in killed, wounded, taken, and sick, of near ten thousand men; the difficulties opposed to their progress by the season, the bad roads, and the daily augmenting force of the republicans; the increasing impediments to the receipt of supplies; and the impossibility, from the unwillingness of the Dutch to rise in insurrection, and the inactivity of the Imperial armies in Italy and Germany, of effecting the great objects of the enterprise: and submitting to his royal highness the propriety of conducting back the army to its position of the Zype, where it would be nearer its magazines, and where instructions could speedily

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speedily be obtained from England. This remon-
strance was attended with the desired effect:
7th. in a most stormy night, when the rain de-
scended in torrents, the troops were ordered to fall
in, and the brigades to form; and, proper measures
having been taken to deceive the republicans, the
whole army retreated in the face of its opponents,
without disorder or immediate pursuit, and no loss,
except fifty wounded English and Russians whom it
was impossible to remove from Egmont-op-Zee. The
flotilla of admiral Mitchell was consequently obliged
to evacuate Medemblick and Enkuifen.

8th to
14th. General Brune, when informed of the re-
treat, commenced a pursuit; which was, how-
ever, attended with no considerable effect, but occa-
sioning during three days frequent skirmishes and
affairs of posts. The duke of York used every exer-
tion to fortify his position, and diminish the consump-
tion of stores by dispatching the supernumeraries and
sick to England. He found, however, that it was
now become impossible again to march forward; he
could have maintained his position, but the health of
his troops must have been sacrificed, nor could the
ultimate ends of the expedition be attained. To re-
turn to England was the most beneficial measure he
could adopt; but in retreating on ship-board before a
foe superior in numbers, he found that, even under
the most favourable circumstances, he must sacrifice
three thousand five hundred of his best men, or in-
undate

undate the country in their front—a resource from which his humanity and justice equally revolted. The intent of the expedition was to serve the stadtholder and liberate his people; but such a destruction of their property as must have resulted from an inundation would have been sufficient to make both prince and people execrate for ever the British name.

Negotiation then became his only eligible mode of proceeding; and accordingly, general Knox was dispatched to the head-quarters of the republicans with proposals for evacuating Holland, which, after several papers had been exchanged, was, on the peremptory ultimatum of the duke of York, agreed on. The principal conditions were the relinquishment of the Helder in as good a state as it had been taken, the unconditional restitution of eight thousand French and Dutch prisoners to be elected by agents of those nations, and the unmolested embarkation of the allies before the end of November. In pursuance of this compact, the province of North Holland was abandoned, vice-admiral Dickson having destroyed or rendered unfit for service several Dutch ships of war and large merchantmen which the terms of the convention did not allow him to carry away. Sir James Pulteney, who brought off the last division of the army, distributed to the inhabitants of the country who had suffered from the unavoidable effects of the war, three hundred draught horses for which he had not shipping; and, in obedience

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15th to
18th.

19th Nov.

CHAP. XXVIII.
1799. dience to the orders of his royal highness, and with a generosity which was the object of praise and surprise with the republican generals, satisfied all just demands for indemnification. The loss of men killed and prisoners amounted to about four thousand on each side.

Having thus related the termination of two grand projects formed by the allies against the republicans in Switzerland and Holland, it remains only to notice the conclusion of this eventful or rather wonderful year in Italy and on the Rhine, to terminate the protracted narrative of the campaigns in Europe.

After the capture of Mondovi, and departure of Suworow from Italy, the numbers of the opposing armies became nearly equal, and the advantages of situation were divided between them. Coni was the great object towards the capture and defence of which the chief efforts of both parties were directed. General Melas, who remained as commander in chief of the Imperial army, pushed forward from Rivolta to Bra, where he united a disposable force of between twenty-five and thirty thousand men. Championnet had, at the same time, drawn near Coni and established his head-quarters at Villa Valletta, and by a spirited attack driven the Imperial vanguard from Fossano and Sevigliano. The post was, however, recaptured on the ensuing day, after a smart contest, in which the French lost fifteen hundred men.

The

The republicans being thus repulsed on the most important point, general Melas laboured to arrest their progress in the north of Italy; and such were the spirited exertions of the corps under prince Victor de Rohan in the Valais, that the French were beaten in several encounters, and prevented from injuring Suworow at that critical period when he was entangled among the Alps. About the same time prince Lichtenstein, with a division from the camp of Savigliano, defeated and expelled the republicans from Pignerol; and general Bellegarde drove them back from Rivoli to St. Antonio, half way between that place and Suza. Being thus disappointed in his hopes, Championnet repaired to Genoa, where Moreau yielded up to him the command of the army of Italy. The remainder of September passed, however, in skirmishes and movements of no general importance.

When the republicans had, in the month of July, been driven from Tuscany and Naples, an expedition was equipped for the purpose of expelling them also from the states of the church. Commodore Trowbridge, the worthy coadjutor of the brave Nelson, blockaded the port of Civitavecchia; while part of the army which had rescued Capua and Gaeta proceeded towards Rome, under the Neapolitan general Bourcard; and Mr. Wyndham, the British minister at Florence, obtained permission for a part of the army of loyal Aretines, aided by some squadrons of Austrian

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light troops, to march against the same country. A petty warfare maintained by these forces against general Garnier, who occupied chiefly the castle of St. Angelo, Civitavecchia, and some other intrenched posts, consumed the months of August and September; the allies forbearing to press the siege of these places, from a wish to preserve them uninjured. In the latter end of September, the Austrians detached general Frœlich with a considerable body of troops, who, after some skirmishes with different parties, summoned Garnier; but received for answer, that a treaty was arranging with commodore Trowbridge. The French general, anxious to escape the just vengeance of the natives, had commenced; and the British admiral, apprehensive of accidents and eager to prevent the French from carrying off the rich and curious spoils they had amassed, concluded the negotiation on terms extremely liberal. During the treaty general Frœlich had pursued his hostile enterprise, nor did he desist till required by British officers, when he proceeded with his army to Ancona. Thus were the French expelled from the states of the church by the disinterested bravery of the British navy; and thus the Roman vanished like the Parthenopian republic.

September and October. Championnet still persevered in active but ill-combined efforts to prevent the progress of the Austrians towards Coni, and several skirmishes were fought in different quarters during the

the remainder of September and October, in which the French were often worsted with serious loss, but seemed, at length, to be making some progress, and obliged Melas, as a matter of prudence, to evacuate Mondovi. Even in his retreat, however, the Austrian general meditated an attack; and the French pursuing his steps to a position he had chosen between the Stura and the Grana, both sides prepared for a general engagement. The day was contested with great obstinacy and skill, and for some time with doubtful success; but the French were, in the end, defeated, and obliged to give ground in every direction. Melas pursued his advantage by renewing the attack on the following day with equal vigour, and was encountered with less resistance; and on the following day he pursued and dispersed the republicans among the valleys of Maira, Grana, and Stura. They lost in these three days four thousand men killed and wounded, and as many prisoners; while the defalcation of the Austrian ranks did not exceed two thousand.

About the same period, general Kray, having received reinforcements at Alexandria, drove the French from the valley of the Bormida and from Acqui, passed the river Bormida, expelled them from several positions, and, although defeated in an obstinate contest for the heights of Novi, cleared the valleys of the Scrivia and the Orba.

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2d Nov.

4th.

5th.

21 to 5th.

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1799. In consequence of these successes, general Melas found himself enabled to besiege Coni, and, after a series of judicious preliminary operations, again attacked the French in Mondovi; and Championnet found himself obliged to quit his position, not only to avoid the Austrians but to escape from the natives, who were in general insurrection and harassed him on all sides. He retreated to the narrow passages of the Apennines, and placed his headquarters at Sospello on the road to Nice, while Melas made vigorous and judicious preparations for the siege of Coni.

13th Nov. His operations were greatly facilitated, and he received a considerable reinforcement, in consequence of the surrender of Ancona, which, since the commencement of the campaign, had been blocked up by a combined army of Russians, Turks, and Italians, and by a Russian and Turkish fleet. After the surrender of Civitavecchia, general Frœlich, advancing against this place, took the chief command; and pressing the siege with great vigour, want of force and want of provisions obliged the republican general Mounier, with a garrison of three thousand men, to surrender. The victors found in the place six hundred pieces of cannon, and in the harbour three sail of the line and several small ships of war.

25th to
3d Dec. General Melas, satisfied with having separated and thrown into disorder the republican

lican

lican army, and removed them from all approaches to Coni, directed his whole attention to the siege, which he commenced when the snow had already covered the surrounding mountains, and frost rendered the ground almost impenetrable. He was, however, encouraged to persevere by the great importance of the place, and by knowing that the French were in want of all necessaries, their magazines having been exhausted to supply the army. The management of the siege was intrusted to prince Lichtenstein, and he conducted it with so much spirit, animating the soldiers by his example and encouraging them by his liberality *, that every difficulty was surmounted, and this fortress for the first time was taken by force. The garrison, three thousand six hundred in number, were made prisoners of war; and conducted to the hereditary states.

Melas immediately sent his army into winter quarters; and Championnet, having made the principal part of his troops return into the position between Savona and Genoa, departed for Paris, but on his way fell ill and died at Antibes †.

Massena

* It is said that he distributed five thousand guineas of his own property, in reward to the men for extraordinary exertions.

† 9th January, 1800. His malady was an epidemic fever, which broke out about the end of the campaign and made great ravages in the left division of his army, and also carried off a great number of the inhabitants of the frontier towns in Provence, Dauphiné, and

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Massena, who was appointed his successor, found the army overwhelmed with the miseries of want, disorganised, licentious, and incapable of subordination. Insurrections were frequent at Genoa; and during the remainder of December, general Klenau, and general Hohenzollern, who had succeeded Kray, made vigorous though unsuccessful efforts to gain this valuable city by a *coup de main*. These efforts closed a campaign of singular activity and brilliancy, in which the allies are computed to have lost thirty thousand men in killed and wounded and ten thousand prisoners; while the republicans might place forty-five thousand to the former and thirty-five thousand to the latter account.

4th Oct. Soon after the departure of the archduke from the Rhine, in order to repair, if possible, some of the disasters occasioned by his withdrawing from Switzerland, general Ney, who succeeded provisionally to the command of the republican army, set out from Mentz towards Frankfort, and obliged the Austrians, who were commanded by prince Schwartzenberg, to repass the

and Franche Compté. Championnet was the son of an innkeeper at Grenoble. He was the particular friend of Hoche, and like him died in his bed, after having encountered all the dangers of war; and like him, also, after having obtained very early the rank of general in chief. He enjoyed considerable reputation in the French army, and yet had neither shewn great talents nor achieved great exploits.

Nidda. The French also crossing the river, and reaching Frankfort, again attempted to levy a contribution,

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but were foiled by the firmness of the magistrates. Another party, crossing the Rhine

5th.

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near Lautersburg, were not restrained by the neutrality of Baden, which had been rigidly observed, and much to their advantage, from pillaging several villages. These exploits, which were not followed up for several days, seem only to have been planned to excite alarm, and try the strength of the Imperialists. The French general, finding them weak on the Rhine and Mein, again put his troops in motion; and again crossing the Rhine, suddenly presented himself before Mannheim and Heidelberg: Mannheim, being feebly defended, was easily captured; Heidelberg made some resistance, but was evacuated the next morning; and the Austrians, in their retreat towards Heilbron and Bruckfall, were pursued and severely harassed. The Imperialists, reduced to a strict defensive, thought only of covering Philipsburg; but the French, having gained possession of the Palatinate and of the bishopric of Spire and driven back the Austrians as far as the other side of the Entz, occupied both banks of the Necker to the confluence of these rivers, and blockaded the city.

The situation of the archduke was now seriously embarrassing: he was threatened on every side; and, while he was opposed by armies amounting to more than

than

CHAP. than a hundred thousand men, the retreat of the
 XXVIII. Ruffians from the theatre of war * left him with less
 1799. than feventy thousand to line the banks of the Rhine
 from its fource as far as Kehl, to defend Suabia, and
 fupport the armed peafants who covered Franconia.
 The military genius of the archduke was on this oc-
 cafion happily exerted. His meafures for the protection
 of the Grifons and the fafety of Italy and the here-
 ditary dominions were prudent and effectual ; and he
 prepared to relieve Philipsburg by reinforcements,
 which, notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, he
 found means to fpare.

1ft to The conteft on the banks of the Mein, the
 3d Nov. Necker, the Enz, and the Rhine, was con-
 ducted with great vigour : the French bombarded
 Philipsburg, hoping to carry it by an inceffant fire ;
 while the Auftrians endeavoured to raife the fiege,

* On this fubject the archduke had no right to complain ;
 though he was, with refpect to the Ruffians, the unwilling agent of
 the treachery of the Auftrian cabinet. The emperor Paul had, on
 the 15th of September, declared to the diet of Ratisbon his views
 in engaging in the war, and concluded with thefe expreffions :
 " Should his imperial majefty of all the Ruffias perceive that the
 members of the Germanic empire fupport his views and rally
 round him, he will, inftead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his ex-
 ertions, and not fheath his fword till he has feen the downfall of
 the monfter which threatens to crush all legal authorities : but
 fhould he be left to himfelf, he will be forced to recall his forces to
 his ftates, and to give up a caufe fo badly fupported by thofe who
 ought to have the greateft fhare in its triumph."

and,

and, at all events, to shelter the duchy of Wurtemberg. Prince Hohenlohe having crossed the Enz and engaged them in a pursuit, in the course of which he was reinforced by about three thousand men, defeated and forced them to fall back to Erligheim, where he again put them to the rout with the loss of seven hundred prisoners and fifteen hundred slain and wounded. This event occasioned the republicans to lose the advantages of the progress they had been making for a month, and appeared to overturn all their projects with respect to Germany. They were driven from the borders of the Neckar and beyond Neuburgh, and, on the following day, obliged to evacuate Kelmstadt and Pfortzheim, and subsequently driven from Knitlingen, Bretten, and Bruckfall, and, after several engagements, obliged to retreat into an angle formed by the Rhine and Neckar, where they were joined by some thousands from Holland.

Thus reinforced, they resumed the offensive; and, in consequence of a well-judged attack in four columns, regained the ground they had been losing during the late encounters, and renewed the blockade of Philipsburg: the rest of the month was passed without any material exertion. The superior force of the French occasioned considerable alarm lest they should make their winter quarters beyond the Rhine, or even extend them to the Danube; but the archduke, being no longer alarmed for his defensive line, dispatched a reinforcement of four thousand

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CHAP. thousand men under general Sztaray, which nearly
 XXVIII. re-established the equality of the armies, each amount-
 1799. ing to about twenty thousand men.

2d Dec. Sztaray, without loss of time, made an at-
 tack in five columns, which proved completely
 successful, breaking the whole centre of the French
 line from the Rhine to the Necker, and turning their
 left. In the night general Lecourbe concentrated his
 forces and took an advantageous position between

3d. Sinzheim and Wislock, but was again assailed
 at break of day, defeated at all points, and
 compelled to retreat towards Lamen and Heidelberg.
 The loss of the republicans in these two days amounted
 to four thousand men, while that of the Austrians

4th. did not exceed one thousand. The blockade
 of Philipsburg was raised the following day,
 and the French retreated to a position they had occu-
 pied three weeks before; their right towards the
 Rhine above Neckerau, their centre in front of
 Schwetzingen, and their left towards the Necker above
 Heidelberg: head-quarters were at Manheim.

Apprehensive of an attack, and anxious to secure a
 retreat beyond the Rhine by the bridges of Neckerau
 and Manheim, general Lecourbe proposed a suspension
 of arms, to which Sztaray, who could not venture
 an assault on the new positions, agreed, on condition
 of its being ratified by the archduke. The French
 general hastened, under favour of this provisional
 compact, to bring back his army safe behind the
 Rhine, sending it to take cantonments, part in the
 Palatinate,

Palatinate, part in the bishopric of Spire, and leaving only one battalion at Manheim and another at Neckerau. He then departed to join the army of Switzerland, leaving the command to general Baraguay d'Hilliers, who was soon to be superseded by Moreau. The archduke refusing to ratify the convention made by Sztaray, the French hastily evacuated Manheim and Neckerau; and, though some slight movements ensued, this event may be considered as closing the campaign, the rival armies taking their stations on opposite sides of the Rhine.

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8th.

The loss of the contending parties in the bloody campaign in Switzerland and Germany has not been precisely ascertained; but on a reasonable calculation it is supposed that the allies, by killed and wounded, so as to be no longer able to bear arms, were deprived of about forty thousand men, and the French of about forty-five thousand; but the republicans made about thirty thousand prisoners, while their loss did not exceed twenty-five thousand*.

* In this chapter I have chiefly relied on the History of the Campaigns of 1796, &c. in four volumes, and the History of the Campaign of 1799 in Holland, by the same luminous and well-informed author. I have also occasionally referred to the Epitome of military Events, translated from the French of general Dumas (who was expelled from France on the 18 Fructidor, but afterwards readmitted, and whose account is strongly marked by partiality), and the Narrative of the Expedition to Holland, by E. Walsh, M.D.

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View of Affairs in Egypt—Miseries of the French Army—Buonaparte sends an Emissary to Constantinople—Exertions at Cairo—Scientific and other Establishments—and Pursuits—Expedition of Desaix into Upper Egypt—Insurrection at Cairo—Djezzar Pacha fortifies El Arish—Buonaparte proceeds against him—Capture of El Arish—Gaza—and Jaffa—Inhuman Murder of three Thousand eight Hundred Prisoners—The Troops infected by the Plague—Buonaparte poisons the Sick—Plunder of the People—Djezzar Pacha is aided by Sir Sidney Smith and Colonel Phelippeaux—Capture of the heavy Artillery—Advance of Buonaparte—Siege of St. Jean d'Acree—First Assault of the French repelled—Frequent Sorties of the Garrison—A large Army advances to raise the Siege—Defeated by the French near Mount Thabor—Further Progress of the Siege—The French lose several valuable Officers—Improving State of the Garrison—Strenuous Assault at the Breach—frustrated by the Valour and Judgment of Sir Sidney Smith—Second Assault defeated—Third Assault made by mounting on the dead Bodies of the Troops—The Natives declare in Favour of Djezzar Pacha—Treacherous Attack of Buonaparte on the

Town while a Flag of Truce was within the Walls—After a Siege of sixty-one Days he retreats—His Artillery and Wounded fall into the Hands of the English—His Proclamation—Arrival at Cairo—Judicious Conduct—Further Proceedings of Desaix—A Turkish Army takes Aboukir—Battle and Siege of Aboukir—Total Destruction of the Turkish Army—Escape of Buonaparte from Egypt—He arrives in France—State of the Republic—Congratulations on his Return—Fête in the Temple of Victory—New Revolution—The supreme Power vested in Buonaparte.

IN the midst of these dreadful conflicts, which were to decide the fate of Europe, attention was frequently called to the progress of events in Egypt. Ibrahim Bey, the Mamelouc, after his defeat by Buonaparte had retreated to Gaza, where he was favourably received by Djezzar Pacha; and, soon after the battle of the Nile, Buonaparte returned to Cairo.

The French army, suffering under the infection of the plague, astonished at the woes which assailed them on every side, and disappointed by the contrast of the objects before their eyes with those which had been presented to their imagination, wondered that the government of France should make such extraordinary efforts, and “expose an army of forty thousand men to destruction, for the sake of subduing a set

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set of fierce and brutified barbarians *." Numerous were the instances of suicide occasioned by despair, and formidable commotions might have been apprehended, had a chance of escape remained to urge the soldiery to the adventure. It was not, however, difficult to Buonaparte to demonstrate that the complete ascendancy of the British in the Mediterranean left no possibility of being secure but by completing the project which disgust would have made them glad to abandon, and founding and defending a new empire.

While Desaix was employed in pursuing a division of Mameloucs under Mourad Bey into Upper Egypt, Buonaparte was assiduously engaged in perfecting his system of government. Conformably to his scheme of rendering every species of fraud and delusion subservient to his main purpose, he pretended, notwithstanding the manifest injustice and violence of his invasion, to be acting merely as an ally of the Porte in chastising the beys; and while, in the progress of his conquests, murdering the subjects of the grand-signior, joined the Turkish crescent with the republican stripes, as if the emperor had really sanctioned an expedition of which he was never apprised. He even assured the captain of a caravel which sailed from the port of Alexandria for Constantinople of his devotion to the

* See Intercepted Correspondence, vol. II. p. 148; and many other letters in the same volume.

cause of the sultan ; and obtained permission to send Beauchamp to negotiate for the friendship of the Porte, with assurances that the object of the expedition was to maintain the authority of the sultan against the incroachments of Djezzar Pacha. How far these pretences might have prevailed over an ignorant, timid, and feeble cabinet, it is impossible to decide : but the cannon of Aboukir drowned the voice of the emissary ; and the grand-signior, already determined, was making vigorous exertions to recover his own dominions.

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Buonaparte mingled at Cairo the toils necessary for the maintenance of his situation with those exhibitions and pursuits which were calculated to captivate the people of France, by accounts of their own systems and manners extending themselves to new regions, while the people of the country were to be at once astonished, terrified, and overawed. The rigour of military discipline, the privation of every species of liberty and property, the violation of females, and the disarming of the people, were accompanied by pretexts of paying devoted homage to Mahomet ; and this degrading hypocrisy was carried to such an extent that Buonaparte himself, after issuing several profane and ridiculous proclamations, was not unfrequently distinguished by the name of ALI. Besides the mingled and absurd forms of French jurisprudence with the concomitant buffooneries and disguises, the people of Egypt witnessed with astonishment efforts

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to counteract their very natures, to bring into subjection the fierce and uncontrollable Mamelouc, fix the wandering and independent Arab, and urge into activity the indolent and uninquifitive Copht. Under pretext of augmenting the produce of commerce and agriculture, all forts of property and the produce of every species of industry were laid at the mercy of the rapacious French, who, while in poffeffion of all the land could afford, were yet in want of moft neceffaries, and who extended far and wide the reign of misery without being able to refcue themfelves from its oppreffive grasp.

Fortifications were conftituted at Salahich, Balbeis, Roſetta, and Damietta; and at the ſame time eſtabliſhments were formed which gave employ to the *ſavans* who attended the army, and appeared to bring back knowledge to that ſpot where in early ages ſhe had ſo many followers. An inſtitution was formed at Cairo, on the model of that at Paris; a library was collected from the plunder of thoſe of Europe; and a chemical laboratory was erected, as well for general purpoſes as for the more peculiar motive of purifying ſaltpetre, to furniſh the army with gunpowder. Hydraulic machines were conſtituted, and ovens eſtabliſhed to relieve the wants of the foldiery; nor was it forgotten to give them the means of drowning their cares, by extracting from the date a ſtrong liquor, ſimilar in its effects to brandy. Theſe operations, except the ſtructure of ovens, were more fitted

to captivate the imagination than to satisfy the judgment. Libraries and laboratories, saltpetre and brandy, were slender consolations to men who saw their clothes perishing without a possibility of their being restored (for no art was found to create broad-cloth); and the army began to fear that they were doomed to absolute nakedness. What consolation could the lectures of the institution, or the declamations of tragedians (for the establishment of a play-house was not omitted), afford to men in whose minds curiosity was extinguished by distress, and to whose hearts no sentiment could find its passage except an ardent and uncontrollable desire to revisit their native shores, from which they were doomed, as they conceived, to hopeless and causeless exile?

In this state, nothing but eager exertion could prevent total languor; and therefore every circumstance which could excite inquiry or afford a pretext for pompous exhibition, or which had an appearance of promoting science or preserving a worthy memorial of the expedition, was eagerly embraced. At the period of the inundation of the Nile, Buonaparte, with the accustomed pomp, made the cut in the dyke which conveys the water to Cairo; and the flow into the canal of Alexandria presented an opportunity, which was judiciously seized by Kleber, of transporting the artillery by water to Gizeh. General Andreoffy founded the Pelusian mouths of the Nile, the roads of Damietta, the Boghass, and Cape Boyau, as well

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as the Dibeh mouth; entered the lake Menzaleh, where he overcame the resistance of the Arabs, who opposed him with a hundred and thirty of the Egyptian craft called dgermes; constructed a map of the lake, and measured with the chain the circumference of the coast, over an extent of forty-five thousand fathoms; determined the bearings of the islands; and discovered the ruins of Tineh, of the ancient Pelusium, and of Farama. Having performed this operation, he returned to Cairo; and speedily set out, accompanied by Berthollet, to survey the lakes of Natron, where he acquitted himself with the same diligence and success.

All the *savans* who accompanied Buonaparte were engaged in pursuits of greater or lesser importance, according to their powers: some ascertained points in geography, surveyed canals, and made drawings of buildings and monuments; others made collections and investigations for natural history, constructed windmills, arranged almanacks, and even composed a journal. Denon undertook the most extensive labour, a journey into Upper Egypt in search of those materials which have enabled him to present to the world his curious and instructive work; and Buonaparte sanctioned the general pursuit of science by attending regularly the sittings of the institute, and visiting the isthmus of Suez to examine the situation of the ancient canal which joined the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.

During

During these transactions general Desaix, in pursuance of the directions of Buonaparte, waged an active and prosperous war against Mourad Bey in Upper Egypt. It is not intended to describe minutely the progress of this officer, whose enterprise was dangerous, and his proceedings sanguinary. The difficulties he had to surmount were of a kind entirely new, both from the nature of the country and the combatants that were opposed to him; for it was necessary not only to overtake, defeat, and carry off supplies, but to surround and destroy his adversaries, in a valley, which, growing gradually narrower, without affording any great transversal position, or any support upon the flanks, equally favoured the flight and the rallying of the troops of the Beys. All that escaped the sword of the conqueror speedily reappeared in fresh attacks, always undertaken with the greatest boldness, and abandoned after the first onset: it was necessary to follow the course of the Nile, the only inhabited part of the country, to deprive the Mameloucs and Arabs of the means of recruiting; and to prevent Mourad Bey from increasing his army, making Desaix fall back, or rendering himself sufficiently formidable to compel Buonaparte to employ in Upper Egypt part of the forces so necessary to his own peculiar plans.

The principal affairs in which the troops of Desaix were engaged were those of Sediman, where they gained a victory at the expence of three hundred and

CHAP. forty men killed and a hundred and fifty wounded ;
 XXIX. the village of Faioum, where they resisted a spirited
 1799. attack of a vast but unskilful force; at Souagui, where
 a multitude of recruits were surpris'd and routed with
 terrible slaughter; at Samanhout, where impetuous
 valour was obliged to give way to steady courage and
 military science; and Souhama, where the Mameloucs
 were again put to the rout, and finally obliged to re-
 tire beyond the Cataracts, while the French strength-
 ened themselves by the occupation of Cofseir upon
 the Red Sea, and the construction of a fort in the im-
 portant position of Kéné. Their situation in this
 quarter, though formidable, was not tranquil; the
 unwearied hate and renewing courage of the natives
 still prompting them to fresh exertions, which terror
 derived from experience could not repress.

These battles formed part of a series of operations
 on the part of the natives, which were begun and
 conducted with great vigour and energy, in conse-
 quence of the resolution adopted by the grand-signior
 to defend his dominions against an unjust invasion,
 and to avail himself of the assistance of the English.
 The intelligence of this determination occasioned
 these vigorous, though ineffectual, exertions in Upper
 Egypt; and they had previously produced at Cairo an
 injudicious attempt at revolt, for which the inhabitants
 were severely, and even barbarously, punished.

It is impossible to ascertain how far the people had
 been deceived by Buonaparte's hypocrisy into an
 opinion

opinion that he was the friend of their sovereign, and a zealous profelyte to their religion; but immediately on the appearance of the *firman* declaring him an enemy to the Porte, an insurrection broke out, though without apparent plan or system of operation. The assembly of the people, their discourse, and their menaces, excited neither curiosity nor apprehension, till they began to attack and plunder the dwellings of the French. The principal meeting was before a mosque; and general Dupuy, advancing at the head of a small troop to disperse them, was slain with all his followers: a few French were killed in the streets; but on the beating of the *générale*, the main body flew to arms; the streets were speedily cleared; the people took refuge in their mosques, the doors of which were soon forced and the buildings fired; an immense and indiscriminate slaughter followed, friends and foes were alike exterminated to glut the vindictive fury of the republicans; the horrible illumination occasioned by the burning of part of the city, the firing of artillery from the citadel, the screams and groans of people of all classes and sexes begging in vain for quarter, and the furious shouts by which the French rallied and encouraged each other, formed a combination of horrors which in modern warfare seldom occurs. Quarter was tardily and reluctantly granted; the city recovered a gloomy tranquillity; but the most rigorous measures were pursued for preventing future insurrections.

This

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This event occurred before Buonaparte had made his survey of the isthmus of Suez ; and while he was engaged in that research, he learned that Djézzar Pacha had seized and fortified the fort of El Arish, and received such further intelligence as left him no longer in doubt of the hostile intentions of the Porte. Not confining her assistance to naval co-operation, Great Britain had deputed to Constantinople a military mission of seventy-six persons ; composed of general Koehler, several officers belonging to the corps of royal engineers and artillery, with a certain number of non-commissioned officers and privates from the same body. In the progressive operations of the war, skill would thus be superadded to courage and enthusiasm ; and the French commander had reason to apprehend that, with the military ignorance of his antagonists, a principal cause of his success would vanish. The exertions of Djézzar Pacha were in themselves sufficiently to be dreaded ; since they shewed, that not even enmity to the Porte, and a systematic pursuit of rebellious opposition, could be a sufficient motive to induce a native power to abstain from opposing the inroads of an invader.

Pursuing his accustomed policy, of assailing his opponents before they could become strong by union and formidable by preparation, Buonaparte arranged, without loss of time, a plan for attacking Djézzar ; setting apart for that purpose twelve thousand men, well supported with such artillery as could be transported

ported according to exigency. He divided this force into five columns under Kleber, Regnier, Lannes, Bon, and Murat; and having instructed Perée to embark heavy artillery on board three frigates for Jaffa, and taken precautions for securing the tranquillity of Cairo, prepared to head the expedition himself.

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El Arish, notwithstanding the advantages of its situation, made but a feeble defence. Regnier and Kleber had taken the village and blockaded the fort before the arrival of Buonaparte, who, after a short cannonade, compelled the garrison to surrender on condition of retiring to Bagdat and through the desert. Having left Regnier's division to fortify and secure this conquest, which is considered the key of Egypt, the French marched through the desert to attack Gaza. The Mameloucs constantly retreated before them; and the inhabitants of the city, on their approach, sent deputies to meet and give them unmolested possession. This peaceful surrender was peculiarly fortunate to the French, whose convoys of provisions from Cathieh had not been able to keep up with them; as they found in Gaza sixteen thousand pounds of powder, a great quantity of cartouches and ammunition, and some artillery, beside a hundred thousand rations of biscuit, rice, tents, and a large supply of barley. Buonaparte spent two days in the civil and military organisation, as it was called, of the

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the

CHAP. the place, forming a divan of the principal inhabit-
 XXIX. ants ; and then prosecuted his route towards Jaffa.

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The way to this town, anciently called Joppa, is across an immense plain covered with hillocks of moving sand, which the cavalry traversed with difficulty ; the camels slowly and painfully proceeded, and for about three leagues it was necessary to treble the teams to the artillery. Hordes of Arabs hovered around the army, without, however, doing any injury ;

and the advanced guard under Kleber
 4th March. reached the town on the third day. Jaffa

was found to be surrounded with a wall without ditches, flanked by good towers mounting cannon. Two forts defended the port and the road, and it appeared well armed. The garrison having retired within the place, the main attack was made on the south side. The whole army having come up, and

batteries being established, a practicable breach
 7th. was soon effected, and the town taken by
 assault.

Many of the garrison were put to the sword ; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, their lives were granted : and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy.

Three days afterwards, Buonaparte, who had expressed
 much

much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners*, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Volleys of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval: indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner; and the officer of the

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* Buonaparte had in person inspected previously the whole body, amounting to near five thousand men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran janissary attracted his observation; and he asked him sharply, "Old man, what did you do here?" The janissary, undaunted, replied, "I must answer that question by asking you the same. Your answer will be, that you came to serve your sultan; so did I mine." The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparte even smiled. "He is saved," whispered some of the aides-de-camp. "You know not Buonaparte," observed one who had served with him in Italy; "that smile—I speak from experience—does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence: remember what I say." The opinion was too true. The janissary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered.

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état-major who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience. When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished days in agony.

Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town*.

The accumulation of unburied bodies occasioned the visitation of the plague; by which a great number of French soldiers were soon infected, the hospitals crowded, and the medical staff embarrassed. In this

* The reader will not fail to perceive that this narrative and the preceding note are taken without alteration from the History of the Expedition to Egypt by sir Robert Thomas Wilson. The efforts of impudence and sophistry have been employed, in vain, in indirect denials or futile palliations of this most atrocious fact. The only plausible excuse alleged is, that part of the garrison of El Arish was found in Jaffa: but even this was a most extraordinary plea for him to advance in the face of his own army, where a corps, called "the marine legion" was entirely formed of prisoners on parole liberated after the battle of the Nile. (See Cooper Willyam's Voyage up the Mediterranean.)

crisis the machiavelian or rather diabolical genius of Buonaparte was again employed in extricating himself from difficulty by an act at which the blood freezes, and which snatches at once the robe and the diadem, the wreath and the mail, from the body and brow of the offender, divests him of all the splendid additions conferred by fortune and by fame, and shews naked and unmasked the form and countenance of a villain and an assassin. "Finding," says sir Robert Wilton, "that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, he sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which from weighty reasons cannot be here inserted: on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion; concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty, as well as the atrocity, of such a murder; but finding that Buonaparte persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: 'Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a human butcher; and, general, if such qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.'

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Buonaparte was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food; the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted; and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol*.”

Besides these detestable barbarities, the stay of the French at Jaffa was distinguished by their accustomed violence and rapacity; the pillage of the natives was so complete, that even women and little children were robbed of the few ornaments they carried about them, consisting of coins, such as paras, sequins, and piastres †. The artillery found in the place consisted of forty pieces of cannon, being the field-equipage given to Djezzar by the grand-signior, and twenty iron and brazen guns mounted on the walls. Orders were immediately expedited to Alexandria for Perée to sail for Jaffa, which was intended to be the port and entrepôt of all articles to be received from Damietta and Alexandria. A government with a

* See on this subject sir Robert Wilson's History, p. 74, and Dr. Wittman's Travels in Asiatic Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, p. 128.

† Wittman, p. 130.

divan was speedily organised ; and the command of the place consigned to adjutant-general Grenier, who was afterwards carried off by the plague.

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Preparatory to his march for St. Jean d'Acre, Buonaparte endeavoured to terrify or cajole Djezzar Pacha by a letter, in which he affirmed that he had *treated with generosity* such troops as surrendered at discretion, though he *had been severe* towards those who violated the rights of war ; and promised that in case he was victorious, he would be clement and merciful, not only towards *the people*, but *towards the great*. He recommended to Djezzar to abstain from resistance, to become the friend of the French and the enemy of the Mameloucs and the English ; and in reward, he should be taken into favour, and experience more good than he had previously received evil. This gross deceit was too clumsy to deceive even the most unsuspecting of men, with the testimony of damning and recent facts to prove how far every sentiment of honour, mercy, or clemency, was from the heart of the writer. Djezzar sent only a brief verbal answer, implying that he would rather bury himself in the ruins of Acre than suffer it to fall into the hands of Buonaparte. In expressing this resolution, he was encouraged, not only by his own force, and the assistance of the Porte, but by the unexpected aid of the genius, judgment, and valour, of a British captain and a French royalist officer of engineers ; who were destined to revive, in a remote century, those exploits

CHAP. plotts which, in the days of chivalry, had rendered
 XXIX. St. Jean d'Acres the theme of so much wonder and
 1799. celebrity.

The capture of sir William Sidney Smith, and his detention in the Temple, have been mentioned in a preceding page of this work. Immured in this abode of the victims of republican tyranny, the British hero did not give way to unmanly despair; but while his buoyant spirits and the conscious elevation of his character supported him above every injury and indignity, his active mind and indefatigable genius were constantly employed on schemes of escape, and devising means to convey his person to those scenes of enterprise and glory from which the affections of his heart could never be divorced. Perhaps no circumstance in the life of this extraordinary man affords a more curious specimen of romantic honour and noble frankness, than his declarations to his jailor that he would use all possible means for effecting his escape, and his frequent acceptance of indulgences on terms of truce, and accompanied with a declaration that he would, during the period specified, rigidly suspend all operations for forwarding his emancipation. Among the intimate friends of sir Sidney Smith was colonel Phelippeaux, a royalist, who with indefatigable zeal contrived means for his escape, and at length effected it by a forged order for conveying him to another prison. After a series of surprising adventures they reached England; and sir Sidney, still accompanied by

by his worthy adherent, was destined to command the naval force stationed in the Archipelago and the Levant. Having secured the good-will of the emperor of Morocco, aided his brother John Spencer Smith in concluding the treaty with the grand-signior, and given judicious advice for the equipment of the Turkish expedition, he repaired to the coast of Egypt, just at the period when Buonaparte was about to depart for Syria. Hoping to deter the French commander from his design, he bombarded Alexandria; but finding this expedient ineffectual, he hastened to the assistance of Djezzar Pacha.

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Intimidated by the successes of Buonaparte, though not allured by his promises, the Pacha had determined to abandon Acre, and seek for safety with his women and treasures in a more distant situation; but his new allies, conscious of the strength and importance of his position, animated him to make a vigorous defence. Colonel Phelippeaux employed his skill in improving the state of the fortifications; while sir Sidney Smith, having discovered a corvette and nine sail of gun-boats laden with artillery for the siege, attacked them near Mount Carmel, and captured seven of the vessels. This acquisition was of the utmost importance; both the artillery and the vessels contributed to annoy the invaders, while the means of assailing the city were more than in proportion diminished.

On

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On leaving Jaffa, the French army, after some slight opposition, reached Caiffa, which the people abandoned, carrying away the artillery and ammunition of the fort, and proceeded to St. Jean d'Acree. Having secured provisions, and determined all the necessary previous points, vigorous exertions were made for carrying on the siege: but in this attempt the French were no longer to be encountered by an ignorant adversary, the dupe of every *ruse-de-guerre*, and whose very valour was more injurious to him than cowardice could have been; but by a brave though ferocious body, led to consistent exertion, and trained to the useful operations of discipline, by men of equal courage, greater prudence, and consummate skill. Unapprised of these circumstances, the French were led to expect an easy conquest; and pressed forward to an assault, in hopes again to enjoy sanguinary triumphs over an unequal foe. Generals Dommartin and Caffarelli, having reconnoitred the place, decided that the attack should be made on the front of the salient angle on the east of the town. The trenches were consequently opened at a hundred and fifty fathoms from the wall; and the operations were favoured by the gardens, the ditches of the old town, and an aqueduct which crossed the glacis. The blockade was well formed for repelling sorties; and in the first which was attempted, the besieged were driven back with loss.

The

The battering artillery not reaching its destination, the French carried on their operations with field-pieces, and at length made a breach in the walls. Expecting only such works as they had found at Jaffa, they fearlessly advanced to the assault, but found themselves stopped by a ditch fifteen feet deep, covered with a strong counterescarp. Scaling ladders were, however, planted at the breach; and Mailly, an officer attached to the adjutant-generals, mounting the first, was laid dead on the spot. A mine sprung by the besiegers produced but inconsiderable effect: the breach was eight or ten feet above the level of the works; and the besieged, having recovered from a momentary consternation, kept up a vigorous and effective fire, which killed adjutant-generals Escalé and Laugier, and forced the grenadiers who advanced to support the first assailants to a precipitate retreat. From the heights of their towers they poured down on the French, who were endeavouring still to mount the breach, stones, hand-grenades, and combustibles; and at length compelled them, for the first time, to retreat within their trenches, with considerable loss.

Two days afterwards the besieged made a sally, and were not repulsed till they had killed a number of their opponents, and, among others, Detroye, *chef de brigade* of the artillery. Two other attempts of the same kind contributed to harass and impede the progress of the French; the last in particular, which

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which was equally spirited and successful, destroyed a mine about which they had employed great labour, and on the operation of which they had founded the most sanguine hopes. The exertions of the garrison were aided by the British ships in the bay, which protected working parties, and enabled them to throw up two ravelines within a short distance of the flank of the besiegers and impede their operations; and frequent sorties contributed to delay their advances, by keeping them continually on the defensive.

As another mean of annoying the French, Djezzar had dispatched messengers to the Naplousians, to the cities of Saïd, Damascus, and Aleppo, urging the people to rise *en masse*, and deliver the country from a handful of infidels; adding as an excitement, that they were not sufficiently provided with artillery, and that the appearance of the natives in force would be sufficient to exterminate Buonaparte and his army. These representations occasioned an assembly of nearly forty thousand men, who, in confidence of victory, ap-

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proached Acre; but a vigorous and judicious movement of the French army threw them into confusion and put them to the rout, with the loss, as it is computed, of five thousand men. Their retreat being cut off in many directions, they were obliged to save themselves behind Mount Thabor; while the victors secured an abundant booty, and took revenge in their usual manner by burning the villages

villages of the Naplousians, and murdering the inhabitants.

While the assemblage of these foes convinced Buonaparte of the facility with which numerous opponents might be raised against him, the vigorous resistance of the besieged, their frequent sallies and indefatigable exertions, inflamed all the furious passions of his mind to their most deadly pitch; and the thirst for the blood of his enemies, and the unfeeling disregard of the lives of his followers which distinguished his career, shewed their combined effects in his subsequent movements; while rage, disappointment, or the novelty of the service, for he had never before conducted the regular operations of a siege, added to his precipitation and impatience, "led him," as sir Sidney Smith observed, "to commit such palpable errors, as even the common seamen could discern."

At length, a mine, intended to blow up the tower against which the principal efforts of ^{23d.} the siege were directed, was completed and sprung; but a cellar which was under the tower not presenting a sufficient resistance to give operation to the force of gunpowder, no great damage ensued, the breach being as unaffailable as before. Thirty men were, however, directed to effect a lodgment, but compelled to retire by the well-directed exertions of the garrison. On the following day, a new attempt was made with no better success, general Veaux ^{24th.} being dangerously wounded; the army was shortly

afterwards

CHAP. afterwards afflicted at the death of general Caffarelli,
 XXIX. who expired in consequence of the amputation of his
 1799. arm from a wound he had sustained in a former
 assault; and a similar fate attended Say, a hopeful
 young officer of artillery, who was equally regretted.

While the French were thus wasting their time and squandering valuable lives in this pertinacious attack, the garrison daily acquired the advantages of courage and experience. On the forty-sixth day of the siege, sir Sidney Smith declared the town in a better state of defence than at the first, notwithstanding the increase of the breach, which continued to be battered with effect. The engineers had constructed works to counteract the effects of this disadvantage, and, from having closed with their opponents in so many forties, they had gained confidence to resist an assault.

Perrée's Squadron at length arrived, bringing three twenty-four pounders and six eighteen pounders, with which the French continued to batter the breach; while a mine was carrying on, for the purpose of blowing up the counterscarp and making a second breach in the eastern curtain. This work proceeded, though not without opposition, for several days; but at length the garrison was enabled, by perseverance
 7th May. and well-directed exertions, to destroy all that the French had been so long effecting; and a new attempt, guided rather by desperation than sound judgment, to gain the works of the besieged, was completely ineffectual. The riflemen employed in
 this

this rash exploit were so completely exposed to a tremendous fire that they could neither proceed in their operation nor effect a retreat.

About the same time, a squadron of more than thirty sail of transports and corvettes, under Hassan Bey, was seen standing in for Acre. Buonaparte hoping to carry the town before the aids could be introduced, renewed the attack of the preceding day; and though exposed to a heavy fire from the gun-boats made a lodgment on the second story of the north-east tower, on the outer angle of which the republican standard was hoisted. The fire of the besieged had slackened, and the reinforcements were only half way towards the shore. The breach was feebly defended; and this was the critical moment of the siege. At this juncture sir Sidney Smith landed two boats at the Mole, and hastily arming the crews, led them to the breach. The Turks, animated by the unexpected supply, flocked to the point of danger, where the besiegers were contesting on nearly equal terms with the defenders of the town; the muzzles of their muskets were in contact, and the spear-heads of the colours locked in each other. Djezzar, who, according to the custom of his nation, was sitting in a conspicuous place, rewarding those who brought to him the heads of enemies, and distributing supplies of ammunition, rushed to the breach, and exhibited the unprecedented sight of a Turkish chieftain exhorting
Christian

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Christian soldiers to retire from the post of danger, as in them he should lose his best defenders. The general enthusiasm prevalent under these circumstances decided the fate of the day: the French were kept in check till the reinforcements were landed; Oriental jealousy gave way to the sense of peril; a well-disciplined regiment was admitted into the gardens of the seraglio, made a fortie, and, although the Turks were repulsed, the besiegers being obliged to expose themselves above their parapets, were mowed down in great numbers by the flanking fire of the garrison, their force at the breach was diminished, and the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed.

During this tremendous conflict, Buonaparte, surrounded by his generals and aid-de-camps, was seen standing on an eminence which derived its name from the British hero, Richard Cœur de Lion. His gesticulations, and the mission of an aid-de-camp to the main body of his forces, indicated a resolution to renew the attack; but the garrison being fully prepared, and animated by their late success, it was agreed, in compliance with the wish of the pacha, to receive the assault according to the Turkish mode of warfare. A strong French column which advanced to the attack was suffered to mount the breach, now fifty feet wide, without molestation. On their descent into the pacha's garden, the foremost were encountered by the Turks who lay in ambuscade; and
where

where combined tactics could not avail, the republican bayonet was exerted in vain against the Turkish scymeter and dagger wielded in the right and left hand with equal force and dexterity. The column was repulsed; general Lannes being dangerously wounded, and general Rabaud slain.

Not yet to be deterred from the prosecution of his object, Buonaparte ordered a new assault to be made, and proposed to his troops to convert the putrid bodies of their fellow-soldiers into a rampart or scaling ladder for the occasion. For the first time, he found his commands disputed; the regiment to whom he imparted his request refused to stain themselves with this new outrage to humanity; but the grenadiers of the twenty-first demi-brigade solicited and obtained it as an honour. Their exertion was, however, unavailing; for on mounting the breach they discovered that the besieged had completed three lines of defence, and, after the loss of many lives, they returned, dejected and discomfited. The Turkish regiment, on the contrary, which had before been repulsed in a sortie from the garden of the seraglio, again sallied forth for the same purpose, that of seizing the third parallel, and achieved the exploit with complete success. The impetuosity of a few carrying them beyond the proper point, they lost their lives; but the remainder returned triumphant within the walls, having spiked four pieces of artillery. In these encounters general Bon was mortally wounded;

CHAP. ed; as were general Foulcr, Venoux, adjutant Pinault,
 XXIX. Gerbault, an engineer attached to the staff, and
 1799. Croisier, aid-de-camp to the commander in chief.

To add to the grief and rage of Buonaparte, the surrounding hills were thronged with spectators, awaiting only the event of the contest to unite with the victors. Convinced that the supposed invincibility of the French was not real, these people easily yielded to the invitation of sir Sidney Smith, and preferred an union with "a christian knight, to the friendship of an unprincipled renegado*." They dispatched embassadors, declaring their resolution to arrest all mountaineers who should be discovered transporting ammunition or provisions to the French camp, and, as a pledge of their sincerity, sent in four-score individuals whom they had taken in such attempts. This determination prevented the further progress of Buonaparte to the northward, and at the same time he received intelligence from Cairo that several provinces were in insurrection; that Gizeh was invaded by a wandering Arabian tribe from the heart of Africa; and that an impostor, calling himself the angel El Mahdi announced in the koran, had gained numerous adherents and carried several posts.

To barter honour for success was no new traffic with Buonaparte, and on this occasion he made an attempt of the most odious and dishonourable kind

* Sir Sidney Smith's expression.

to gain the long-contested town. The dead bodies over which he had made his last assault becoming putrid, generated diseases, and even the plague, in the camp. Employing an Arabian dervise as a flag of truce, Berthier, in the name of the commander in chief, addressed a letter to Djezzar, desiring a suspension of arms till the dead could be buried and the establishment of an exchange of prisoners effected*. While this message was under consideration, and the flag of truce waiting for the answer, Buonaparte, in defiance of all laws of justice and to the everlasting disgrace of the name of soldier, commenced an assault, hoping to take the town by sur-

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* Berthier in his Narrative, affirms, on the credit of pretended information from a deserter, and from the circumstance of some sacks being thrown on the beach containing decapitated bodies, that Djezzar murdered all his prisoners, cut off their heads, and tying their corpses two and two in sacks, threw them into the sea. Furnished with this topic, he introduces a philippic against the English for continuing in alliance with barbarians who could commit such shameful cruelties. Now it is somewhat extraordinary that M. Berthier should require a potentate to exchange prisoners, when but a few days before he had discovered that he cut off their heads and threw their bodies into the sea. Some headless trunks may probably have been thrown ashore; but it should be recollected that the Turkish custom is to reserve the heads of their enemies slain in battle as trophies, and that great numbers of ears of Frenchmen were sent to Constantinople to the sultan as evidence of the success of his arms. Such a practice is not commendable, but it accounts for the appearance of those bodies without the aid of Berthier's solution. See Relation, &c. pp. 75, 96.

prise.

CHAP. prise. Fortunately, however, the garrison was on its
 XXIX. guard; and this act of desperate treachery met its
 1799. due reward in defeat and disgrace. Sir Sidney Smith
 with difficulty rescued the dervise from the fury of
 those who considered him a voluntary instrument in
 the treason which had been committed, and gained a
 full and delicious revenge by sending him back to
 Buonaparte with a letter of reproof which overwhelmed
 him and his army with shame.

Foiled in this disgraceful attempt, Buonaparte
 found himself obliged to retreat. His last efforts
 were dedicated to revenge. No longer hoping to
 gain the town, he destroyed the aqueduct, bombarded
 the principal buildings, and used his utmost endea-
 vours to reduce the palace of Djezzar to a heap of
 21ft. ruins. After a siege of sixty-one days, con-
 ducted without advantage and concluded
 without honour, Buonaparte commenced his retreat.
 His artillery and wounded were embarked in country
 vessels, to be conveyed coast-wise to Jaffa; but Sir
 Sidney Smith placing himself between that place and
 Damietta, the crews, destitute of all necessaries, even
 of provisions and water, steered directly towards the
 British fleet, relying on the honour and humanity of
 the English commander, and execrating and deploring
 the want of those qualities in their own.

Previously to his retreat, Buonaparte addressed to
 his troops a proclamation filled with futile boasts,
 false

false assertions, and delusive consolations. He complimented them for having traversed the desert which separates Asia from Africa with more rapidity than an army of Arabs; destroyed the army intended for the invasion of Egypt; frustrated an intended attack on Alexandria; and, though but a handful of men, carried on the war for three months in the heart of Syria. "You have taken," he said, "forty field pieces, fifty standards, and six thousand prisoners; razed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and Acre. In a few days you might have hoped to take the pacha in the midst of his palace; but, at this season, the capture of the castle of Acre is not worth the loss of even a few days; besides, the brave men whom I must lose in the exploit are wanted for more essential operations." These boasts, with the revenge of burning villages and harvests, and shooting the Naplusians whom he took prisoners, were the only consolations of Buonaparte during his march. Such was the close of an expedition, the success of which Buonaparte had anticipated with a profane boast, that when he had conquered Jerusalem, he would bury the first grenadier who fell in the tomb of our blessed Saviour, and plant the tree of liberty on the spot where he was crucified*.

His approach to Cairo was a moment of anxiety and apprehension, embarrassed with dangers which required all his courage to face and all his cunning

* See Wittman's Travels, p. 157.

CHAP. XXIX. 1799. ning to avert. In a boastful letter which was read in the Institute he had used these expressions: "In three days I shall be at Acre; *when you open this be assured that Djezzar Pacha is no more.*" Nothing was left for him but to veil his disgrace under the appearance of triumph, and assume the deportment, not of a leader returning discomfited and disappointed, but of a real conqueror. Orders were accordingly dispatched to the government at Cairo to prepare illuminations, triumphal arches, and a festival for the conquerors of Syria and of Djezzar Pacha. The troops, who had despondingly anticipated a different reception, whose murmurs against the man who had planned their expedition amounted to mutiny, whose expressions even menaced death to him as an atonement for their seven thousand comrades who had perished, saw with surprise the honours paid to them; heard their chief and themselves styled conquerors; and, in the delirium of vanity, forgot their injuries and defeats. The next morning Buonaparte, assured of the intoxication still continuing, assembled his army on parade, distributed rewards, then moved forward a battalion of grenadiers, whom he upbraided with having refused to make another assault on Acre, and sentenced them to carry their arms slung behind till their characters were retrieved. This extraordinary stroke of policy converted many of Buonaparte's detractors into admirers. They confessed his knowledge of human nature,

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nature, who in a few hours could so improve his situation and reassume his influence as to disgrace those very men who the day before would, with the applause of their comrades (now approving of their dishonour), had he uttered a word of censure, have instantly assassinated him.

During these transactions, Desaix carried on the campaign in Upper Egypt with vigour and success, constantly defeating the Mameloucs, and preventing all their efforts to invade Egypt and co-operate with the forces from Constantinople and those expected from England. The series of his engagements produced seven victories besides those before enumerated; and although they were not distinguished by circumstances calculated to afford great military renown, were eminently useful to the French army.

While Buonaparte was employed in re-organising his forces, he received intelligence from Desaix of a new movement projected by Ibrahim Bey and Mourad Bey; against whom he dispatched corps under generals Legrange, Murat, and Destaing, who speedily succeeded in frustrating their attempts, and compelled Mourad to retreat to the pyramids of Gizeh. On receiving this information, ^{14th July.}

Buonaparte quitted Cairo with a considerable force, and, being joined by Murat, continued to pursue Mourad for several leagues; but his attention was called from this enterprize by intelligence that a
Turkish

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Turkish fleet of a hundred sail had anchored at Aboukir, and, after making proper dispositions to prevent the progress of these new foes, he hastened towards the spot. On his approach, his spies informed him that the Turks had captured the fort of Aboukir, were disembarking artillery, had broken down the pontoons constructed by the French for communication with Rosetta, and were preparing to besiege Alexandria. Their force was estimated at fifteen thousand men.

He also found that success did not make the Turks rashly desirous to push forward, but that they were fortifying themselves in the place they had taken, organising the Arabs, and awaiting the support of Mourad Bey and the Mameloucs before they would attempt new exploits. It was of the utmost importance to anticipate such an event; and Buonaparte, having spent a considerable time in making the requisite arrangements, attacked the Turkish intrenchments, which were severally carried after a steady resistance, conducted with valour amounting to desperation, but unaided by skill. The Turks, unacquainted with the proper use of the bayonet and tormented by its efficient use in the hands of their opponents, madly endeavoured to seize the firelocks, hoping to unscrew the formidable instrument of destruction. Such courage, supported only by the pistol and scymeter, was not calculated

to

to wrest victory from the disciplined troops of France; yet the conquest was not achieved without considerable loss. The arm of general Fugiers was shot off; and general Le Turcq, leaping into the intrenchments, fell covered with wounds. The Turks, according to their custom, sprang forward whenever they saw an enemy shot, to cut off his head, that they might obtain for the trophy the usual mark of honour, a silver aigrette. This effort, in which avarice was mixed with the love of fame, facilitated the operations of the French in gaining the intrenchments. Finally, the whole party was overpowered; four thousand were killed and wounded, and none escaped but those who were carried off in boats *. The French gained by this victory all the tents and baggage of the Turkish army and twenty pieces of cannon, two of which were a present from the king of England to the grand-signior.

The fort of Aboukir was immediately invested, and, after a siege of eight days, the garrison surrendered, not by capitulation, but by 3d Aug.

* On this subject Buonaparte wrote a pompous dispatch, stating the number of his opponents at 17,000, of whom 10,000 in despair rushed into the sea and were drowned. Berthier repeats the story; but sir Robert Wilson corrects the statement, and shews that the force of the Turks did not exceed 8000, of whom one half were killed and wounded, 2000 were carried off in boats, and the remainder formed the garrison of the fort of Aboukir. See History of the Expedition, p. 29.

laying

CHAP. laying down their arms, quitting the fort, and embracing the knees of the victors.
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This fortunate achievement terminated the military exploits of Buonaparte in Egypt. The ascendancy of his character, the celebrity of his name, and dextrous application of his talents to the purposes of maintaining his authority, were insufficient to prevent the formation of a formidable party in his own army, who would not be content to see the honour of France tarnished by his wanton barbarities, while the troops seemed doomed to be sacrificed to the pursuit of a conquest which would never be thoroughly achieved, since every new success led only to the formation of more extravagant and diffusive designs. On Buonaparte's return from Syria, the physician who had refused to administer poison, accused the general, in full assembly of the institute, of treason against the honour of France, her children and humanity; he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by charging Buonaparte with previously strangling at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague; thus proving that this disposal of his sick was a premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice. In vain Buonaparte attempted to justify himself; in vain he pleaded that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength

strength enough to guard them, and that it was evident if they escaped, they would act against the French, since amongst the prisoners were five hundred of the garrison of El Arish, who had promised not to serve again* ; and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save them from falling into the hands of the Turks. But these arguments, however specious, were refuted directly ; and Buonaparte was at last obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. The members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion.

The spirit of inquiry and resistance thus disclosed, and a conviction derived from the conduct of the troops at Acre that a time might come when his commands would not be sufficient to secure general obedience, powerfully stimulated him to the accomplishment of the wishes he had always entertained of returning to France. To these motives, were added, it is said, others arising from intelligence he had received of the victorious progress of the allies in Italy, and the eager desire he felt to attempt the re-establishment of the ascendancy of France, which the fortune of his arms had so greatly contributed to gain. When Buonaparte had fully resolved to quit his comrades, he prepared for the execution of his project with the

* They had been compelled, in passing through Jaffa, by the commandant to serve.

CHAP. utmost secrecy, knowing that the slightest suspicion of
XXIX. his design must have proved fatal to him. He ordered

1799. rear-admiral Gantheaume to equip, and keep in readi-
ness for sailing, the frigates which remained in his
possession, and to give notice the moment the com-
bined British and Turkish squadron should quit the
18th Aug. coast. The desired intelligence reached the
general at six o'clock in the evening; at
nine he dispatched orders to those who were to ac-
company his flight, to hold themselves in readiness to
set out at midnight to attend him on a tour in Lower
Egypt. They were to meet him, it was said, on the
coast; and each was furnished with sealed instruc-
tions not to be opened till the moment of the ren-
dezvous.

Gantheaume had stationed in the road at the distance
of a league from the shore two frigates, La
23d. Muiron and La Carère; and Buonaparte,
having secured the military chest, and left sealed
orders for general Kléber, repaired on ship-board, at-
tended by a few confidential followers, leaving the
army enraged, surprised, and despondent, to lament the
miseries of their situation, and the perfidy of their
chief. Among those whom Buonaparte favoured
with permission to revisit France were generals Ber-
thier, Andreoffy, Lannes, Murat, and Marmont; and
Monge and Berthollet, two of the *savans* who had
attended the expedition. Their voyage was at first
retarded by contrary winds, and was considerably
lengthened

lengthened by the necessity of steering close to the coast of Africa, which was considered as most likely to be out of the track of any European vessels, and least exposed to the dangers of pursuit. At length, however, they reached the port of Ajaccio in Corsica; and shortly afterwards Buonaparte landed near Frejus, after being chased by a British squadron of superior force*.

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The next events which attended Buonaparte would seem as if fortune, in the utmost capriciousness of her reputed divinity, had endeavoured to exhibit to the world a splendid and extraordinary specimen of her power to elevate an individual in defiance of circumstances, and in contempt of merit. It can scarcely be supposed possible, that a general, abandoning his army in such a situation, without even a pretext of orders, without the means of apprising government of his views, and without any strong party in the state formed to favour him, should escape severe animadversion, or avoid personal degradation, if not punishment. But, at this period, so abject was the domestic situation of France, that the government, possessing neither power, virtue, nor popularity, appeared

* The events of the Egyptian expedition are derived from the Narratives of Berthier and sir Sidney Smith; the Epitome of Military Events; Histoire par Desadoards; Histoire du Directoire Executif; History, &c. by sir Robert Wilson; Cooper Willyams's Voyage; Dr. Wittman's Travels; and the Gazettes and State Papers.

CHAP. to await with stupid resignation the new revolution
 XXIX. which should terminate its too protracted existence;
 1799. while individuals were endeavouring, with clumsy exertions, only to avert the weight of ruin from themselves, and establish such a character of comparative innocence as would enable them to retreat in safety from the approaching storm.

Laws of barbarous severity intended for the repression of seditious movements failed in their effect. Motions in both the councils for the crimination of individuals occasioned general dissatisfaction without promising relief of the general misery. The tyrannical enforcement of decrees for a forced loan and levy of conscripts occasioned only a more steady and uniform resistance. The torch of civil war was again lighted in the departments of the Upper Garonne and Thoulouse, and many departments of the west and south were strongly agitated. A sense of the inability of government to surmount these disasters was universally prevalent; and general Jourdan had actually proposed a decree for declaring the country in danger.

Syeyes was labouring, with endeavours which could scarcely be termed covert, for the overthrow of the government. The exact views of this crafty intriguer cannot be developed; but it is clear that a hatred to the right heir to the crown on the one hand, and a fear of the jacobins whom he had mortally offended, and by whom his life had been attempted, on the other, would

would impel him to avoid the re-establishment of royalty, or the alteration of the existing system to a form favourable to the ferocious band of republicans. Strength was evidently wanting to the executive power; and that could only be given by a dictatorship residing in one or more individuals, not embarrassed by councils who knew not how to use or to restrain authority, with whom faction was every thing and virtue nothing.

While the abbé was known to be toiling to achieve this point, and doubtful only what general he should call to his aid, fortune landed Buonaparte in France. The people, far from permitting themselves to enquire into the causes of his conduct, were happy to suppose that he brought the means of terminating their misfortunes and disgraces; they flattered themselves that their destinies were in his hands, and that the success which had attended his banner would again be extended over the whole country. His arrival in Paris was therefore hailed as a great national deliverance, and he became the centre of those intrigues which seemed to receive their final sanction and guaranty from the addition of his name. The two councils prostrated themselves at his feet, and gave a solemn banquet in honour of his return in the church of St. Sulpice, called, since the revolution, the temple of victory. At this fête the directory and members of both councils attended; but although the efforts of art and taste were exhausted in rendering

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rendering the scene splendid, and the banquet sumptuous and animating, the general aspect of the guests was replete with constraint and embarrassment. Suspicion prevailed on all sides; the machinations for the overthrow of government were ready to be put in operation; Buonaparte appeared only for a moment in the hall, and retired, impressed, perhaps for the first time, with the fear, which was never afterwards to be absent from his mind, that in some morsel or some goblet to be presented by the hand of treachery, he might swallow his death.

Three days after this celebration, the council of ancients met at seven o'clock in the morning on an extraordinary summons. One of the inspectors of the hall, after declaring the causes of the convocation, and detailing the misfortunes of the country, obtained a decree, founded on three articles of the constitution, ordering the council to meet the next day at St. Cloud, and forbidding all continuation of deliberative functions elsewhere, charging Buonaparte with the execution of the decree, and intrusting to him the command of all the troops in Paris for protection of the national representation. Buonaparte, accompanied by generals Moreau, Berthier, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others, appeared at the bar, congratulating the council on the wisdom of the measure. "We will have," he said, "a republic founded on true liberty, on civil liberty, on national representation: this I swear, in my

my own name, and in that of my companions in arms." The sitting immediately rose, amid shouts of *Vive la république! Vive la constitution!*

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At nine in the morning, the directors, whose power these transactions were designed to overthrow, first heard an account of them. Barras, Gohier, and Moulins, sent for general Lefebvre to call in the military to their aid: but that general declared he would receive orders from Buonaparte alone; and Syeyes and Roger Ducos, the two other directors, had already prepared a formidable body of troops in the gardens of the Luxembourg, which passed in review before Buonaparte. While he was thus engaged, Barras's secretary arrived, whom, after a short private conference, the general thus addressed: "What have you done with that France which I left in such a brilliant situation? I left you peace, I find you in war; I left you victory, I find you defeated; I left you the millions of Italy, I find laws of plunder and misery. What have you done with a hundred thousand Frenchmen, whom I knew as my companions in glory?—they are dead!" This apostrophe faithfully conveyed to the directory, produced an humble message in answer, and all notions of forcible resistance vanished.

The council of five hundred received, at the commencement of their sitting, the decree of removal; and, full of indignation and dissatisfaction, broke up, amid

CHAP. amid shouts of *Vive la république ! Vive la constitution !*
 XXIX. to hold their next meeting at St. Cloud.

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10th. In a wing of the palace surrounded with military, the council of ancients commenced their deliberations. When the presence of a majority of the whole number was ascertained, some reflections were made on the decree of removal, and some members complained that they had not been summoned to the extraordinary sitting; but as such debates would have led to explanations on a constitution which was no longer to exist, the majority of the council terminated them by suspending the sitting till notice should arrive of the assembling of the other legislative body. This interruption did not prevent the reading of a letter from the secretary-general of the executive directory, announcing that the message in which the council declared its meeting, could not be received, four of the directors having given in their resignation, and the fifth having been placed under a guard by superior orders.

Soon afterwards Buonaparte appeared, followed by his aids-de-camp; and, after declaring his attachment to the country, exhorted the council to exert their great powers in saving two things for which such ample sacrifices had been made, "Liberty and Equality."—"And the Constitution!" exclaimed one of the members.—"The constitution?" he replied; "you have violated it on the 18 Fructidor, the 22 Floréal,

22 Floréal, and the 30 Prairial—The constitution!— it is invoked by all factions, violated by all, despised by all. It cannot be to us the means of welfare, because it obtains the respect of none.” He then stated invitations he had received from Barras and Moulins, to join them and overthrow all men who professed liberal ideas ; but he had refused them. He placed no dependence on the council of five hundred, because it contained men who were desirous of restoring the convention, revolutionary committees, and scaffolds, and had deputed emissaries to excite commotions in Paris. He declared his resolution to support his proceedings by means of the grenadiers, whose caps and bayonets he perceived at the entrance of the hall ; and if any orator *paid by the foreign powers* should move to put him out of the law, he admonished that orator that he was pronouncing his own outlawry. Finally, he recommended the council to form themselves into a committee to take salutary measures according to the urgency of circumstances, while he would repair to the council of five hundred.

That body was holding its sitting in the hall of the *Orangerie*, and displayed dispositions hostile to the conspiracy. Lucien Buonaparte was president ; and Gaudin, attempting to make observations favourable to the proceedings of the general, was silenced by cries of *No dictatorship ! No dictator !* The members then took oaths of fidelity to the constitution ; and as soon as the appel-nominal was finished, a letter from

Barras

CHAP. Barras was read, announcing his resignation of the
 XXIX. office of director, and his happiness in leaving the
 1799. guidance of public affairs to a general whom he had
 been the first to promote. This act of Barras was in
 the highest degree propitious to Buonaparte; who
 gave him an escort to his country-seat at Gros-bois,
 while Gohier was put under arrest, and Moulins made
 his escape.

The council, determined to adhere to the forms of
 the expiring constitution, were proceeding to take
 measures for the election of a new director, when
 Buonaparte, attended by a few of his guard of grena-
 diers, advanced into the midst of the hall. His re-
 ception was widely different from that he had expe-
 rienced in the senior council: furious outcries of *Out
 of the law! No dictator!* resounded in his ears; violent
 exclamations against the introduction of armed
 men, a general rush of the members towards him,
 and an attempt to stab him with a dagger, which was
 parried by a grenadier, completely bereft him of his
 presence of mind. Incapable of utterance, he was
 lost, and would have been borne down by the torrent,
 but for Lefebvre, who exclaiming "*Let us save our
 general!*" pressed forward with a strong body of
 grenadiers, and dragged him out of the hall.

Lucien Buonaparte then endeavoured to tranquillise
 the members, but in vain; he quitted, or probably
 was driven from, the chair. Having been some hours
 absent from the hall, which time he employed in
 haranguing

haranguing the troops and urging them to support his brother, he returned, and again attempted to restore order. Finding his efforts unavailing, a picquet of grenadiers entered, and carried him away to the place whither his brother had been conveyed; the drums beat the *pas de charge*, and a general of brigade exclaimed, "*Citizens representatives, I answer no longer for the safety of the council; I invite you to retire.*" This proclamation producing no effect, an officer of the guard, getting on the president's desk, cried "*Representatives, withdraw! the general has given his orders.*" Still they remained motionless; and a third officer uttered the word of command "*Grenadiers, forward.*" He was obeyed, and the hall was speedily cleared; the voices of the members being drowned by the beating of drums. In the evening a select number of the council met by special permission, and voted that the grenadiers who had made a rampart of their bodies around the commander in chief; had deserved well of the country.

A committee of five was formed to consider of measures of public safety. At eleven, Boulay de la Meurthe, appearing as their reporter, declared the vices and radical defects of the existing constitution; and the council having first decreed the abolition of the executive directory, the powers of the state were vested in Buonaparte, Syeyes, and Roger Ducos, under the title of consuls. A constitution afterwards gave to these consuls, or rather to Buonaparte as first consul,

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1799. consul, the whole and absolute government of the state, although a pretence of deliberation was preserved by the establishment of a conservative senate and a tribunate. Syeyes, the manufacturer of the new revolution and the constitution, soon found that he had been toiling for another man's elevation, and retired from the semblance of power, to the tranquil possession of an estate, voted to him by the legislature; and the authority of the first consul, for the others were but nominal auxiliaries, was implicitly acknowledged by the whole nation*.

* Histoire du Directoire Executif; Defadoards; State Papers, &c.

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Effects of the new System of Government—Policy of Buonaparte—Restrictions on the Press—Many popular Acts—Change of Ministry—Overtures for Peace—State of Great Britain—State of France—Insurrection in the Western Departments—General Brune sent to suppress it—His Success—Instructions left by Buonaparte for Kléber in Egypt—State of that Army—Advance of the Grand Vizier—Capture of El Arish—Convention for the Evacuation of Egypt—Its Ratification refused by Great Britain—Battle of Heliopolis—and of Belbeis—Flight of the Grand Vizier—Revolt—Siege—Capture—and Punishment of Cairo—Treaty with Mourad Bey—Assassination of General Kleber—Character of Menou, his Successor.

FORTUNE having thrown all the executive power of France into the hands of Buonaparte, the revolution appeared completely terminated; and, after ten years of unprecedented crimes, privations, and struggles, the people of France were compelled to perceive that they had made no advance towards the attainment of any beneficial franchise, or the establishment of an operative principle which might serve as the

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CHAP. the basis of a compact between the governors and the
 XXX. governed. The nation seemed glad to rest under the
 1799. shelter of authority from the irregular gusts of revolutionary violence ; and implicitly gave themselves up to the guidance of their consul in all matters civil and religious, confiding to him all the powers of peace and of war. Cambacères and Le Brun, the two political non-entities appointed instead of Syeyes and Ducos, aided by a conservative senate of sixty members augmentable to eighty, and a tribunate of a hundred members, both confined within limits extremely strict as to their operations, could not be considered as presenting any formidable check against the authority of the first consul ; who was empowered to promulgate laws, make and revoke at pleasure appointments of members of the council of state, ministers, ambassadors, and other external superior agents, officers of the army by sea and land, members of local administrations, and commissioners of the government to different courts, and all criminal and civil judges except justices of the peace and judges of appeal.

Possessing such extensive powers (for Buonaparte in fact possessed them before the constitution had been formally presented to the people), it was only necessary to adapt the yoke to the necks which were to bear it ; to prevent discontent at first ; and in the early use of power to seem a benefactor dispensing blessings, and not a tyrant imposing burthens. Yet the first consul and his advisers were not now to learn, that in order

to

to retain uncontrolled ascendancy, it was necessary to fetter the press. If the unlimited right of publication remained, no permanent dominion could be expected, among a people prone to change and disposed to cavil. The executive directory from the moment of their establishment had severely felt the embarrassment arising from this circumstance: their utmost despotism had been exerted in vain; presses had been seized, journals suppressed, and editors punished with exemplary rigour; but yet, new presses, journals similar in sentiment though different in name, and editors of equal audacity and ability, daily arose. Buonaparte, however, at an early period of his sway, terminated this difficulty, by decreeing, that a certain number of journals only should be tolerated; and the new constitution contained not a syllable in favour of the rights of printing or speaking.

Having thus paralysed one of the most formidable means of creating an opposition to government, it was easy for the first consul to assume a popular air of magnanimity, by seeming desirous to pardon and conciliate men of all parties. Before this subject had been properly considered, twenty-seven jacobins had been sentenced to deportation, and twenty-two, almost all members of the council of five hundred, to confinement in the department of the Lower Charente. Among the first list it was said there were Septembrizers, and individuals covered with all kinds of crimes; but the other list contained only

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CHAP. only men who had supported, with too much warmth,
 XXX. the order of things which had been established ever
 1799. since the year 1795. General murmurs followed
 this act, which was considered as portending a renewal
 of the late tyranny; and the government was obliged
 to commute this arbitrary punishment for a decree,
 obliging the individuals specified to remain under the
 watchfulness of the police. Soon, however, it was
 discovered that the jacobins could only be formidable
 when a semblance of opposition afforded them the
 advantage of an appeal to the public; and the most
 infamous wretches of that description found immunity
 and protection.

Such conduct was calculated to conciliate the people
 by shewing the confidence of the government in the
 good-will of the majority, and they were further gratified
 by the repeal of two odious laws of the directory for a
 forced loan, and for considering the families of suspect-
 ed persons as hostages. The persons sentenced to de-
 portation on the 18 Fructidor were permitted to
 revisit their country, several classes of emigrants were
 erased from a list which the directory had swelled to
 a most shameful degree of enormity, and the oath of
 hatred to royalty was abolished. Left, however, the
 purchasers of national domains should conceive
 alarms, they were pacified by a proclamation, and
 their rights were expressly reserved in the constitution,
 and the abolition of the oath was declared to originate,
 not in predilection for the monarchical system, but in a
 desire

desire to destroy a principal engine of jacobinical confederacy, and to avoid giving offence to foreign governments, which every commonwealth ought to respect. A general change took place in the ministry. Robert Lindet, the minister of finance, who knew no mode of supply but confiscation, was removed, and his place bestowed on Gaudin. Dubois de Crancé, a ferocious and ignorant jacobin, whom the influence of that faction had raised to the office of minister of war, was displaced, and Berthier appointed in his stead. Cambacérès was, for a short time, minister of justice; but on his elevation to the rank of consul, he was succeeded by Abrial. The jacobin Quinette being deprived of the situation of minister for the home department, it was given to Pierre Simon Laplace, and afterwards to Lucien Buonaparte. Talleyrand Perigord was minister for foreign affairs, and Forfayt succeeded Bourdon in the administration of the marine. Fouché, in reward for his active co-operation in the late revolution, was permitted to retain his office of minister of the police.

In general the measures of the new government were popular, and exhibited hopes of returning regularity, and the abolition of many odious distinctions, which had rendered one portion of the nation oppressor of the other. But to draw from a state of organised robbery and habitual anarchy a social system, just and equal, yet strong and coercive, was a

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talk of the utmost difficulty, and one of which there was no reason to expect the speedy accomplishment. To be popular where the errors of all preceding administrations pointed so clearly the path to public detestation was an ordinary effort; but to give security to the people for the enjoyment of general rights, the abolition of oppressive requisitions, and the revival of commerce, plenty, and mutual confidence, was a labour of the most anxious kind, requiring leisure, ability, firmness, and moderation.

A great impediment to this desirable event was the continuance of the war, which not only required great exertions and sacrifices, but formed a pretext for many oppressive and vexatious exactions. To restore peace was obviously the most popular and most beneficial object the new government could achieve; and although the circumstances of the times could not afford a reasonable prospect of immediate success in a negotiation, it was necessary, in compliance with the impatience of the people, to commence a correspondence on the subject with the allied powers. Messages were accordingly sent to Vienna and London: the tenor of the dispatch to the Imperial cabinet was not disclosed, but the correspondence with the British ministry was immediately made public.

26th Dec. Deserting the accustomed forms of diplomatic proceeding, Buonaparte addressed a letter to the king himself, which was inclosed in one from

from Talleyrand to lord Grenville. He asked whether the war was to be eternal? Whether the two powerful nations of France and Great Britain could not come to a mutual understanding? and expected this overture to be considered as a proof of his desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification. Lord Grenville answered Talleyrand by observing, that the king, seeing no reason for departing from the forms of transacting affairs between foreign states which prevailed throughout Europe, had directed him to answer the propositions of the first consul by a note to his minister. He traced the conduct of France from the origin of the existing hostilities, and noticed the repeated assurances made by every succeeding government of pacific intentions, while all their acts were replete with aggressions. The new government had given no proofs of a disposition to adopt a different system, nor could any assurance be given of its stability. The best assurance which Great Britain could receive of the formation of a regular government in France would be the restoration of that race of princes, who, for so many ages, preserved the French nation in internal prosperity and in consideration and respect among foreign powers. But although such an event would obviate every obstacle, his majesty did not consider it indispensable to the attainment of a safe and durable peace; but whenever he should be of opinion that the security of his own dominions and those of his allies,

CHAP. and the general security of Europe, could be at-
 XXX. tained, he would eagerly seize the opportunity to
 1800. concert with his allies the means of an immediate
 and general pacification. Hitherto no such security
 existed; and nothing remained for him but to pro-
 secute, in conjunction with the other powers, a just
 and defensive war.

In reply, Talleyrand entered into a vindication of
 France, and an accusation of the allies with respect to
 the commencement of the war; alleging all the ex-
 ploded fictions of projects of dismemberment and acts
 of aggression which had so long been repeated in the
 journals of France, and so often refuted that they no
 longer claimed the regard of well-informed men. He
 observed that the present was, at least, as favourable
 as former times had been for the renewal of a treaty;
 and offered immediately to give passports to ministers
 whom the king might send to Dunkirk, or any other
 place equally well situated for speedy communication.

20th. Lord Grenville mentioned in his answer to
 this note the astonishment of the king, that in
 a pretended negotiation for peace, the French minister
 should so anxiously and systematically vindicate the
 unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole causes of
 the war, and repeated the sentiments contained in his
 former note.

By this correspondence the French gained the ad-
 vantage of representing the British nation as obstinately
 bent on the prolongation of hostilities, and of re-
 viving

viving among their own people some portion of the enthusiasm which animated them when they considered themselves assaulted and menaced by a formidable combination. It could not be expected that Great Britain, bound by treaties to all the parties engaged in the war, should desert the common cause, and enter into a separate negotiation; but it was well known that the discussion of proposals of peace in parliament might tend to disunite the nation, render the desire of peace more intense, and afford themes of declamation to the factious and discontented. Yet, in fact, the situation of Great Britain was peculiarly eminent and enviable. Taxation, carried to an extent unknown in history, had not impaired public credit, or diminished public confidence; a war actively prosecuted in every part of the world had not occasioned an intermission of commerce, or a suspension of manufactures or any of the arts of peace. The circumstances which had most threatened her tranquillity ceased to exist; the defeat and death of Tippoo Sultaun subverted the plans of France for the destruction of her empire in India; and the capture of Surinam and other colonies deprived the republic and her allies of the most important external resources. Extensive plans were known to be entertained for the ensuing campaign, and it was of the utmost importance not to give an example of bad faith, which would afford pretexts for dissatisfaction to the allies.

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France,

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France, on the contrary, saw only the dawn of a new and untried system, clouded over by all the errors and crimes of that which had passed away. The greatest efforts were employed in forming a system of economy and abolishing the odious and destructive peculations established by the directory, the army began to be supplied with necessaries, and vigorous exertions were made for obtaining recruits and preventing desertion. All these efforts did not, however, promise to be of much avail while the country was exhausted, depressed, dispirited, and the western departments in a state of open and formidable insurrection.

General Hedouville, who commanded in those departments, had used every exertion to restore confidence: but the rapacious and cruel agents of the directory, by continued acts of tyranny and extortion, had rekindled the flames of civil war; and all the west flew at once to arms, from the banks of the Charente to those of the Seine, and from the coast of Brest to the gates of Tours. They numbered among the most conspicuous of their leaders, Chatillon, d'Autichamp, Bourmont, Georges, and Frotté. As it was expected that England would lend powerful assistance to this insurrection, which was in itself sufficiently formidable, the French government employed great efforts in reducing it, before the advance of spring should enable a fleet to keep the sea, and land in those

those departments the powerful body of English and Russian troops quartered at Jersey.

Hedouville being considered of too mild a character for this exigency, general Brune, who commanded in Holland during the late invasion, and who was besides elevated to the dignity of counsellor of state, was nominated general in chief of an army of sixty thousand men, intended to reduce the royalists to subjection. Hedouville, desirous to make his local knowledge and experience of the utmost utility, accepted a subordinate rank. The march of Brune was preceded by a proclamation declaring the causes of the renewal of hostilities; and by two decrees, one forbidding all generals and public functionaries to correspond, in any manner or under any pretence, with the leaders of the rebels, directing the national guards and inhabitants of districts to rise in arms for their expulsion, and ordaining that all individuals preaching revolt and resistance by force of arms should be immediately shot. The other decree declared the reign of the constitution, ^{16th Jan.} suspended in the departments of the Côtes-du-Nord, l'Isle et Vilaine, Morbihan, and Loire Inférieure; and empowered general Brune to make regulations amounting even to pain of death, to impose contributions in the way of penalty, and to adopt all the means used in the countries of foreign enemies to insure the payment of those contributions and the maintenance of public tranquillity.

On

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On his arrival in Bretagne, Brune learned that all the insurgent departments on the left of the Loire had laid down their arms, in pursuance of a treaty of peace signed at Montfaucon. This event enabling him to concentrate his operations, he began by publishing proclamations to the people, and found that no serious resistance was to be apprehended. A few smart, though not important, skirmishes enabled him to subdue, in less than a month, all that appeared formidable in the insurrection, and reduced the Chouans to nothing more than a small set of detached bodies. To this fortunate event the want of concert among the various chiefs greatly contributed; and it was forwarded in no inconsiderable degree by the prudent orders of Buonaparte for restoring the churches to the communes for the purpose of performing divine service, and for celebrating a pompous funeral ceremony in honour of pope Pius VI., who had been deposed, harassed, and, in effect, murdered, in consequence of a treason executed, if not planned, by his brother. Of the chiefs of the Chouans, Georges and Frotté were the last who resisted. Georges, having learnt that Brune was reconnoitring that portion of the country which was termed his government, boldly advanced to a place near the village of Theix, followed only by three Chouans, and after an interview of an hour with Brune, who met him for the purpose in a field, he engaged to dismiss his troops and yield up his arms. Frotté had

written

written a letter to Hedouville, declaring his willingness to surrender; but before he could receive an answer, his correspondence with an officer of his own party fell into the hands of the republicans. In these papers he advised the Chouans to submit to every thing except the privation of their arms, and unfortunately mentioned the place of his concealment. He was apprehended and brought to trial before a military commission at Verneuil. His behaviour excited the utmost admiration; he appeared with his accustomed boldness: and in the course of the trial^{18th.} asking for some wine, drank with his companions the sentiment so odious to republican ears, "*Vive le Roi!*" The next day he was conducted to execution, and still maintained the same unconcern.^{19th.} He went on foot, attended by his staff; and one of the escort observing that he had lost the step, "You are right," he calmly answered, "I did not think of it," and immediately changed. They were all shot standing, and would not have their eyes blindfolded. The officer through whose imprudence he had been discovered terminated his own existence with a pistol. The republic was thus freed from all alarm from the Chouans; but the departments were not restored to civil government, but kept under the command of military officers*.

* For these accounts of Georges and Frotté, see Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans. The remaining events are derived entirely from Defadoards, vol. IX.

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Six months had thus elapsed since Buonaparte, deserting his own army in Egypt, had found himself, without contrivance or exertion of his own, carried to a height unexampled in the modern history of enlightened nations. To that army it is necessary to revert, before the narration of the subsequent transactions in Europe. On his departure the general left a letter for Kléber, his successor, containing instructions for his future conduct, miscellaneous in their form, but perfectly consistent in one general system of tyranny and treachery. In a short valedictory paper, he assured the army of his heartfelt grief at quitting them, *though it would be only for an instant*; but in his instructions to Kléber he gave full directions how *these brave men, to whom he was so tenderly attached* *, were to be treated. The savans were to return to France on board a flag of truce, unless Kléber could make them useful; in which case he was to put them in requisition without scruple. He promised to send a supply of muskets, sabres, pistols, and balls, of which the army had great need: but if, by a series of the most extraordinary events, they did not hear from France by May; and if the plague should again break out and carry off more than fifteen hundred of the troops, exclusive of those who fell in the field; it was considered not advisable to hazard another campaign; but a peace should

* His own phrase.

be concluded with the Ottoman porte, even though the evacuation of Egypt should be the leading article. In this, however, Kléber was to bear in mind the importance of the colony to France; the certainty that, on the dissolution of the Turkish government, which must speedily happen, it would fall into the hands of some European power; and the necessity of enabling France to resume it at the first opportunity. He was to avoid evacuating it till the conclusion of a general peace; to adhere rigidly to Buonaparte's original assertion, that France never intended taking it from the grand-signior; and, on the arrival of ships which were promised from France, he was to seize five or six hundred Mameloucs, Arab hostages, or Cheiks el Beled, and send them off immediately to France. The proposed end of this infamous piece of perfidy was, that these people, when they had been a year or two in France and contemplated the grandeur of the nation, would acquire in some degree the language and manners, and, on their return to Egypt, prove so many partisans.

“Act in whatever manner you please,” he said, “the Christians will still be our friends; it will be necessary, however, to prevent them from growing too insolent, lest the Turks should conceive the same fanatic prejudice against us as against them, which would destroy every possibility of a reconciliation: this fanaticism must at all events be laid asleep, until we have an opportunity of extirpating it entirely.”

By

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CHAP. XXX. By gaining the good opinion of the principal cheiks
 1799. at Cairo, we shall secure that of all Egypt; and of
 all chiefs, which its inhabitants may rally under, there
 are none less to be apprehended by us than cheiks,
 who are all timorous, unacquainted with arms, and,
 like all other priests, know how to inspire the people
 with fanaticism, without being fanatic themselves."

Kléber, who was a brave and honest man, did not
 express to his followers the sentiments with which
 3d Aug. the conduct of Buonaparte inspired him; but,
 in a short address, attributed his departure to
 motives of the most imperious nature, and assured
 them that a powerful reinforcement or a glorious
 peace was at hand; a peace worthy of them and their
 achievements, and which should restore them to their
 country.

It appears by the estimate taken at this period that
 the necessities of the army were extreme. Their
 pay, and other dues in arrear, amounted to upwards
 of eleven millions (481,250*l.*); and their want even
 of the means of supporting themselves in the field ex-
 tended from cannon down to gun-flints, paper for
 7th Oct. cartridges, and tools and implements of all
 descriptions. These representations were
 merely in support of others still more forcible, made
 by Kléber himself, in a letter to the directory. He
 expressed, without much disguise, his indignation at
 the manner of Buonaparte's departure; described the
 absolute want of arms, gunpowder, and ball: the
 attempts

attempts to establish a foundry had failed; the manufacture of gunpowder had not kept pace with their expectations, and probably never would; and the repair of small arms proceeded but slowly, for want of money and means. The troops, he said, were naked, and the privation of clothing occasioned dysenteries and ophthalmies; by which and other diseases, as well as losses in the field, the actual strength of the army was reduced full half. Buonaparte, he said, had before his departure given orders for clothing the troops; "but in that, as in many other projects, he contented himself with the mere orders." He had also exhausted the extraordinary resources within a few months after his arrival, by levying as extensive a military contribution as the country could bear; yet on his departure he had not left a single sous in the military chest, or any thing which could be converted into money. No supplies were to be expected till the end of November, as the demand of a new military contribution would only excite insurrections. In the subsequent parts of his letter Kléber animadverted, with little disguise and with evident detestation and contempt, on Buonaparte's hypocrisy, the fallacy of his military statements, and his selfishness in depriving the forts of all the marine artillery in order to protect his own voyage to France, while all the heavy artillery was lost in "*the disastrous invasion of Syria.*"

Besides these topics of complaint, Kléber urged that formidable bands of enemies were collecting on every

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every side; and that Buonaparte, perceiving the approach of the fatal crisis, had left him to sustain the enormous burthen of commanding the army of the East. The Mameloucs were dispersed, but not destroyed; Mourad Bey was still in Upper Egypt, with an army which he could easily increase; and Ibrahim Bey at Gaza, with about two thousand Mameloucs*. Nor was Kléber uninformed of the march of the grand-vizier, who, at the head of the principal forces of the Ottoman empire, amounting, according to report, to eighty thousand men, was marching against him, and had arrived at Damascus, and sent forward thirty thousand men to Gaza. He determined therefore, although not quite fifteen thousand men had perished by the plague, to continue a negotiation which Buonaparte had commenced previously to his departure, for the purpose of obtaining safety through the medium of peace.

These resolutions were further confirmed by the progress of the Turkish forces. Aided by British officers, and favoured by the command which sir Sidney Smith retained in the Red Sea, they had captured El Arish, which Buonaparte in his final orders described as one of the keys to Egypt, and were advancing towards Cairo.

30th Dec.

Under these circumstances, a convention for the evacuation of Egypt was negotiated

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24th Jan.

* See Intercepted Correspondence, Part III. Letters 2 to 9. Similar facts form the substance of the whole collection.

on board *Le Tigre*, speedily concluded, and signed at El Arish between two plenipotentiaries on behalf of the grand-vizier, and general Defaix and Pouffielgue (administrator of finances) on the part of Kléber. It stipulated that the French forces should retire with their arms, baggage, and effects, to Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, to be there embarked and conveyed to France, and the territory given up to the grand-signior. Proper stipulations were made for a suspension of hostilities till the convention should be ratified and carried into effect, certain sums of money were to be paid to the republicans, and their safe conduct secured.

The miserable state of the French army which led to this convention, and the enormous force which the grand-vizier led against them, appeared to promise better terms of capitulation; and lord Elgin, the British minister at Constantinople, saw with regret the formation of a compact which would restore to France twenty thousand veterans, who, according to Kléber's account, yet remained effective in Egypt, and who might, by their exertions in Europe, frustrate all the plans of the approaching campaign. Thus, while all parties in Egypt were taking measures for the execution of the treaty, it was resolved at Constantinople to prevent its ratification. The grand-vizier had punctually paid part of the money stipulated by the convention; his army had been suffered without opposition to reach the banks of the Nile; the French had evacuated

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CHAP. evacuated Upper Egypt to concentrate themselves on
 XXX. the sea coast; and general Defaix with several other
 1800. officers had embarked for France, where, after a short
 detention by lord Keith to examine their passports,
 they arrived in safety. Kléber had published a farewell
 proclamation, in which he affirmed that the French
 had maintained and protected the people in the enjoy-
 ment of their religion, *their laws, their customs, and*
their property; nor did they leave among them the remem-
brance of any violence.

Such was the position of affairs when lord Keith
 announced to sir Sidney Smith his dissent from the
 treaty, unless the French would lay down their arms,
 and yield themselves prisoners of war. Sir Sidney
 Smith, as his honour and duty compelled him, com-
 municated the intelligence without delay to the
 French general; and the letter of lord Keith was
 printed for the information of the army. In this
 20th March. transaction sir Sidney Smith acted to the
 very extreme of good faith, as the French
 were on the point of evacuating Cairo, and would
 have done so if his express had been delayed only a
 few hours. The enemy did not, however, imitate
 this generous conduct; for, without previous intimation
 to the grand-vizier, they attacked the Turkish army,
 which, in full confidence of the execution of the treaty,
 was advancing without artillery or ammunition. The
 consequences were such as might be imagined. The
 French army, by withdrawing the garrisons from
 various

various places, had greatly augmented its strength: the advanced guard of the Ottomans, unprovided with the means of defence, was cut to pieces on the plains of Matharich, or Heliopolis; and when the grand-vizier, who was encamped at too great a distance to support his advanced guard, assembled his army to recover the effects of the late disaster, they refused to march. Nazif Pacha, who had been appointed by the Porte governor-general of Egypt, advancing to join the grand-vizier with a numerous body of Turks and Mameloucs, was encountered near Belbeis, and utterly defeated: this event confirmed the panic in the camp of the grand-vizier, whose troops sought safety in precipitate flight, abandoned their tents, military equipage, and artillery, and, traversing the desert, took refuge in Gaza.

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21st.

Nazif Pacha, after his defeat, found means to reach Cairo with some of his troops. The departure of the French having permitted the people to shew their genuine dispositions, they had already risen in insurrection; and the pacha, supported by the general inclination, took possession, and used his best exertions to fortify the city. Boulacq and Suez were in the same state, when Kléber, returning from his successful expedition, commenced the siege of all three. Strength and unanimity were unavailing against the superior tactics of the French. Cairo surrendered in a month, the garrison retiring into Syria; the other places successively yielded;

27th.

25th April.

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10th May.

and the French celebrated in each a fête in honour of the victory of Heliopolis. The city of Cairo was punished by a levy of ten millions (437,500*l.*); a fine which must be considered enormous, on recollecting the description given by Kléber himself, in October, of the poverty of the people, and the impracticability of obtaining from them further supplies.

During this siege, Mourad Bey, equally agitated by fears of the republicans and of the Porte, maintained a strict neutrality; but when he saw success likely to attend the operations of the French, he subdued his internal sentiments of resentment and fear so far as to enter into a treaty with them, and obtained the command of Girgé and Assuan, in quality of governor under the French republic, and in trust to remit to Cairo the subsidy which those provinces had formerly paid to the grand-signior.

While the French were exulting in their improved situation, they were doomed to regret the loss of their general, deservedly dear to them; who fell, not in the field or by the ordinary destinies, but by the hand of an assassin. The French account of this transaction states, that Kléber was walking with an architect on a terrace at Cairo, giving directions for some repairs, when a man, dispatched for the purpose from the aga of janissaries, rushed from a heap of ruins, and stabbed him in four places with a dagger. He died on the spot, and the architect endeavouring to defend him received six wounds;

14th June.

but

but not mortal. The murderer was taken, and being publicly tried before general Reynier and a full committee of general and other officers, confessed, it is said, by whom he was employed, and that he had entrusted his design to four petty cheiks of the city, who dissuaded him from the execution, but were considered as guilty for not having frustrated it. The assassin was empaled alive, and left to be devoured by the birds of the air; and three of his supposed accomplices, the other having made his escape, were beheaded in presence of the whole army. The circumstances attending the murder of the general gave rise to many doubts, which have never been clearly solved. He was on bad terms with the officer who by rank became his successor, and his threats of impeaching the conduct of Buonaparte were so public, and his inflexibility so well known, that many entertained an opinion, which the proceedings on the trial were not calculated to alter, that the assassination was contrived nearer the French head-quarters than the army were permitted to suppose. The leader of the Ottoman forces, in a well-written proclamation, repelled the assertion made against him as an odious calumny; using the obvious argument, that he could have no particular enmity to Kléber, nor derive any great advantage from his death, since the French troops would remain the same, and another leader could not fail to be found. Nor did he omit adverting to the circumstances which rendered it pro-

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CHAP. bable that a Frenchman, and not a Turk, planned
 XXX. the murder.

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17th. The interment was performed with great
 pomp and ceremony, and a funeral oration was
 made in commemoration of his bravery and virtue.
 The command devolved on general Menou, formerly
 a noble, and one of the deputies of that order who
 disgraced themselves in the constituent assembly by
 joining the tiers-état. He had commanded in La
 Vendée in 1793, and rendered himself conspicuous
 for his incapacity. He was an assistant of Buonaparte
 in the fufflade of the 13 Vendemaire, and accom-
 panied him on his expedition to Egypt, without a
 hope of obtaining that command to which he was
 elevated by the concurrence of fo many accidents.
 He had affumed the drefs and professed the religion
 of the Turks, was married to one of their women,
 and added to his own name that of Abdallah*.

* These tranfactions are related from Defadoards and the State
 Papers: fee also Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans, article
 Menou.

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State of the Republican and Imperial Armies in Italy and Germany—Progress of General Melas—Siege of Genoa—converted into a Blockade—The French driven beyond the Var—Position of the Austrian and French Armies on the Rhine—The French cross the River—Their Progress—Battle of Mæskirch—Its Consequences—Formation of an Army of Reserve at Dijon—Carnot appointed Minister at War—Buonaparte joins the Army of Reserve—Passage of the Troops over the Mountain of St. Bernard—Their rapid Success in Italy—Re-establishment of the Cisalpine Republic—Movements of the French and Austrians—Battle of Marengo—Convention entered into by Melas—Armistice in Italy—Proceedings on the Danube—Battle of Hochstet—Battle near Neuburgh—Death of Latour d'Auvergne—Further Retreat of the Austrians—Their Positions and those of the French—Armistice in Germany—Buonaparte returns to Paris—Interference of France in the Governments of Piedmont, Liguria, and Switzerland—Exertions of England—Attempts on the French Coast—Successes of the Fleet—Unsuccessful Attempts on Ferrol and Cadiz—Capture of Goree, Curacoa, and Malta—Treaties between

between France and the Powers of Barbary—and the United States of America—Renewal of Armistice with the Emperor—Discussions respecting a Naval Armistice with England—The French seize Tuscany—destroy Arezzo—Rupture of the Armistice—Battle of Hohenlinden—Progress of the French—Their Success in Italy—New Armistice—Treaty of Luneville.

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WHILE hostilities were thus renewed in Egypt, chiefly for the purpose, as it was understood, of favouring the campaign in Europe, that plan was deranged and ultimately rendered abortive by events which human sagacity could neither foresee nor prevent. The commencement of the campaign was, in many respects, inauspicious to the allies; though by no means flattering to the republicans, who had an immense tract of territory to reconquer, with forces far inferior to those by which they were to be opposed. On the death of Championnet, the command of the French army of Italy was given to Massena; but the continued dissatisfaction of Paul I., and the death of Suworow, who in disgrace and chagrin terminated his days in his native country, did not permit a hope of the appearance of a Russian army in that quarter. The Austrian army remained under general Melas, who, with eighty thousand men, was in possession of all the fortresses at the entrance of the Alps, from the fort of Bard in the valley of Aosta to Coni, and had been, during the whole winter, in the enjoyment

enjoyment of every necessary, the English fleet having conveyed to him abundant supplies, and facilitated the formation of his magazines for the approaching campaign. The French, shut up in various posts from the Bochetta to the Alps of Dauphiny, in the midst of snows, had suffered every privation and hardship, and, with a force not amounting to fifty thousand men, had to defend positions which would require eighty thousand.

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The positions of the French army on the frontier of Germany extended from Ehrenbreitstein to the Valais; but, on the other hand, the archduke Charles, indignant, perhaps, at the part he had been obliged to act in the last, and displeas'd with some circumstances in the plan of the present, campaign, renounced the command, which was conferred on field-marshal Kray. As the principal efforts were intended to be made on the side of Italy, this army was not well provided or appointed; and this neglect combined with the retreat of the illustrious commander in chief and the project of a defensive campaign to dispirit and enfeeble the troops.

In pursuance of the concerted system of operations, Melas quitted Milan, to besiege Genoa; having previously address'd to his troops a proclamation, reminding them of the glory they had acquired last year, and the necessity of maintaining it by new exploits. He attacked the Bochetta in person, while field-marshal the baron d'Elnitz assailed
the

6th April.

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the heights of Vado, and another column of the army reached Savona by the road of Acqui and Saffello.

1800. These combined efforts drove Massena into Genoa, while a British squadron cruised off the coast, and the Austrian general made great exertions to gain the surrounding heights.

A party in Genoa adverse to the French interest facilitated the exhibition and dispersion of a proclamation from general Melas, assuring the inhabitants that his intentions were not to subdue or subjugate, but deliver them from a yoke which had reduced them to a condition truly deplorable. He promised to respect property and defend the true religion, to establish a provisional government, make their harbour a free port, and protect their commerce. These offers were rendered more tempting by the blockade of the port by lord Keith, and the general want of provisions, which obliged Massena to have recourse to great severities to limit the consumption.

7th to 23d. The Austrians took possession of the heights of Montenotte and San Giacomo; made themselves masters of Finale, Vado, and Savona; and drove general Suchet, after many severe conflicts, in which every position was defended with the utmost obstinacy, into the county of Nice. In these encounters the French lost, according to their own accounts, ten thousand men: they captured many Austrians, but were obliged to set them at liberty on parole,

parole, for want of provisions. The besiegers gained possession of the suburb of San Pietro d'Ancona, and made an unsuccessful attempt to surprize the gate called la Lanterne. Beset with internal as well as external foes, and determined to defend his post to the last extremity, Massena took measures for organising the Cisalpine refugees within the walls, invited the citizens to deposit their private stock of provisions in the public stores, and by proclamations exhorted his followers to resist the efforts of malevolence and maintain good discipline, and animated the inhabitants to endure with firmness the rigours of a siege, affirming the promises of Austria to be insidious and her views treacherous, and reminding them of the glorious defence made by themselves unaided in the year 1746. These efforts produced excellent effects. Flour was almost entirely wanting, the inhabitants being reduced on the tenth day of the siege to four ounces of bread each as a daily allowance; but the slaughter of horses supplied the shambles, and wine and brandy were in great abundance.

Lord Keith having landed at Voltri the heavy artillery necessary for the siege, and the Austrians being masters of Savona and of all the surrounding heights, the operations were secure from interruption; and Melas, fearing that the loss of much time on this object would frustrate the general plan of the campaign, changed the siege into a blockade, relying on the

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CHAP. the effects of famine rather than the operations of
 XXXI. force or skill. Leaving therefore generals Ott and

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Hohenzollern with fifty battalions before
 28th April.

the city, he marched with the remainder of
 his force towards San Giacomo, to join general Elnitz
 and attack the French under Suchet and Rochambeau,
 who defended Oneglia, San Remo, and the county
 of Nice. The Austrian army, divided into two parts,
 pursued both the roads to France; that by the
 Col di Tende being feebly guarded by the French,
 and that by the Corniche being protected by the
 British squadron, whose light vessels sailed close to the
 shore. The left of the army, issuing out by
 5th May.

Montferrat, in the marquifate of Finale, and
 passing the Cento, took possession of Albenga. The
 right of the French immediately retreated to Marina

di Diano, and learning that the right of the Austrians
 had reached the Col di Tende, which could
 7th to 11th.

not long hold out, they made a precipitate
 retreat by Porto Mauricio, San Lorenzo, San Remo,
 Bordigherra, Ventimiglia, Monaco, Villa Franca, and
 Nice: even the last city was evacuated in the night,
 on the approach of Melas; but the French left
 garrisons in the castle and in that of Montalbano, and
 withdrew all their troops to the other side of the Var.

The campaign in Germany commenced under cir-
 cumstances less auspicious to the Imperial arms. The
 forces in this quarter were considerably weakened by
 detachments sent into Italy, and the position extended

from

from the Mein to the Adda. The right, under general Sztaray, was cantoned from Frankfort to Baden on the Murg; comprising the divisions of general Szenterefkey, in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, of prince Hohenlohe between Manheim and Heidelberg, and of baron Klinglin, near Rastadt. The centre, under general Kray, extended from Murg to the lake of Constance; and included the division of general Kenmager, occupying the environs of Offenburg; general Giulai, in the Brisgau and Friburg; and that of prince Ferdinand of Austria, which defended the shores of the Rhine and of the lake of Constance, from Schaffhausen to Lindau. A *corps de reserve*, composed of battalions of grenadiers, was posted near Willengen. The left wing, placed from the lake of Constance to the Italian bailiwicks of Switzerland, along the Rhetian mountains, was composed of the corps of the prince de Rufs in the Grisons, general Huller in the Voralberg, and general Dedovich near Mount St. Gothard and the Italian bailiwicks. This army, which in the whole amounted scarcely to fifty thousand men, was evidently too weak to protect the vast extent of country over which it was cantoned; and the absence of the Russians from the lake of Constance was a circumstance peculiarly unpropitious.

The French army was also divided into three corps, and amounted to a hundred thousand men, under the command of Moreau. The left, led by St. Suzanne, who had under his orders the divisions of Colaud, Legrand,

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Legrand, and Souhain, occupied the left bank of the Rhine, from the confluence of the Moselle to Strasbourg. The centre, extending from that city to the left bank of the Saar, was composed of divisions led by generals St. Cyr, Delmas, Leclerc and Richemont, Ney, and Baraguay d'Hilliers. Lecourbe commanded the right wing, stationed in the mountains of Switzerland.

General Kray, informed of the movements made by the French to cross the Rhine and penetrate into the Brisgau, had assembled about thirty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry in the neighbourhood of Rastadt and Offenburg; ordered general Sztaray to draw near Philippsburg, in order to support it if attacked; and preserved an imposing force in the important post of Donaueskingen, whence he could easily, according to circumstances, proceed to the duchy of Wirtemberg, the borders of the lake of Constance, and the frontiers of the Tyrol. These forces were far inferior to those opposed to them by Moreau; but Kray could not imagine that Lecourbe would dare to quit Switzerland, to approach Upper Suabia; and the court of Vienna relying on the success of the expedition under Melas, considered that, even if the French should gain some ground in Suabia, it would have the good effect of disabling them from sending reinforcements to Provence.

The chief object of the French was to pass the Rhine, and, gaining the rear of the Black Forest, to
unite

unite at Schaffhausen and Smettingen. To execute this project, St. Suzanne crossed the river at Kehl, and St. Cyr at New Brifac: the latter without opposition took possession of Friburg; the former, after a smart contest*, placed his right at Vilstett, Giessen, and Tant, and his left at Roderverer, Valaffen, and Appenvir. A division under general Richepanse, passing the river by the bridge of Basle, reached the mountains of Huhlingen, and gained the defiles of Kander. The four following days were spent in manœuvring and gaining more central positions; the Austrians not being able, from inferiority of numbers, to make resistance at all points; and while the divisions who had already crossed were thus employed, Lecourbe passed the river between Schaffhausen and Stein, and the whole army was, at length, united at Wutach. The Imperial troops, compelled to retreat, took an excellent position on the heights of Pfullendorff; their right supported by the Danube near Sigmaringen, their centre at Mœskirch, and their left under the walls of Stockach.

In this position the Imperialists were attacked by the French, and, after a battle which lasted three days, compelled by superiority of numbers to retire unbroken. Their right passed the Danube at Sigmaringen, their centre and left

* In this engagement Dubois de Crancé, a furious jacobin, formerly one of the mousquetaires, was killed.

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united

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united at first on the shore of the Federsee, but soon abandoning these posts, the whole army retreated to the right of the Iller under the cannon of Ulm, and on the right and left of the Danube. In consequence of the battle of Mœskirch, the French became masters of the whole circle of Suabia. The duke of Wirtemberg abandoned his residence at Stutgard, which was garrisoned by St. Suzanne; Philipsburg was again blockaded; Moreau seized all the magazines on the banks of the Danube, as far as Ulm, on the Necker, and on the lake of Constance. Lecourbe placed a body of troops in the city and defiles of Bregenz. The advanced bodies of the army entered Augsburg, Kempten, and Memingen, and made incursions beyond the Lech into the heart of Bavaria, plundering and levying contributions in every direction.* General Kray had no longer any communication with the Austrian corps stationed in the Tyrol and the Italian bailiwicks of Switzerland, but by making long circuits through the villages of the Tyrol, towards the sources of the Lech and the Inn. Yet the Imperial cabinet appeared to view these events as objects of minor

* Besides grain, provisions, and clothing, the French levied in money from the landgrave of Furstenburg 500,000 florins; from the town of Unberlingen, 30,000; Memmingen, 60,000; Biberach, 45,000; Buchoru, 30,000; Ravensberg, 30,000; Pfullendorff, 20,000; Salmansweil, 100,000; St. Blaise, 200,000; the abbey of Buchau, 50,000; Althorfen, 50,000; Schuffenreid, 25,000; abbey of Weissenau, 25,000; and Wangen, 50,000.

importance,

importance, compared with the expected results of the invasion of Provence.

Among the earliest measures of the new government of France for impeding the projects of the campaign was a decree for forming an army of reserve of sixty thousand men to be assembled at Dijon, and under the immediate command of the first consul. All soldiers who had obtained their discharges, all who were even superannuated, if in a condition to make a campaign, and all the youth of the requisition and conscription, were to be summoned, in the name of honour, to join this standard before the 5th of April, and on the tenth of that month a public report was to be made in honour of those departments which had furnished the greatest proportion of volunteers. This decree was reinforced by a proclamation from Buonaparte, sufficiently abusive of England, and full of professions of love of peace, but not distinguished by any trait of superior eloquence or political sagacity. Such a resource could not be regarded by Austria or Great Britain as a powerful engine for deciding the events of the campaign. The mode of forming the army, the late period when it was required to assemble, the improbability that the chief of the republic would quit the capital to command an army so formed, all conspired to make it a subject rather of ridicule than apprehension; and the French government rather sanctioned than discouraged these errors, while every exertion was made to assemble

and

CHAP. and equip this body, which was, in fact, their prin-
 XXXI. cipal reliance. The subjugation of the western de-
 1800. partments enabled a great portion of general Brune's
 forces to join the army of reserve, and, under pretence
 that the city of Dijon could not afford them accom-
 modation, great numbers were sent to the lake of
 Geneva; by which means the course of report and
 conversation was impeded, and the people of France,
 no more than the Austrians, duly appreciated the
 importance of this body.

Another circumstance which contributed to the
 delusion was the apparent violation of the original
 decree, by appointing Berthier to the command. It
 was found necessary, either from want of ability in
 Berthier or as a concession to the popular opinion of
 the unrivalled talents of Carnot, to appoint the latter
 minister of war; and many considered the com-
 mand of the army of reserve as an honorary but
 inefficient employ, given only to prevent discontent.
 Carnot, who had boasted in his book that he was the
 first who procured for Buonaparte a command, and
 who had complained that that general in his progress
 through Geneva in 1798 had arrested a banker
 named Bontems, on suspicion of his being friendly to
 him, then a fugitive in consequence of the 18 Fructi-
 dor*; Carnot believing himself a benefactor and
 knowing himself injured, had yet a sufficient love of

* See Carnot's Answer to Baillet, pp. 30, 141, English trans-
 lation.

power, desire of making a conspicuous appearance, vanity or credulity, to rely on Buonaparte's gratitude or magnanimity for advancement and protection. Carnot therefore readily assumed the office, but, when he had performed the required service, was thrown back into obscurity, as a tool no longer useful.

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While the hopes and fears of Europe were balanced between the attempts of Melas and the exploits of Moreau, and while the events of the campaign were supposed in a great degree to depend on the siege of Genoa, the army of reserve was secretly supplied with all necessaries. Under the command of Berthier it had quitted Geneva, and, following the shores of the lake, traversed the Pays de Vaud; when Buonaparte, suddenly leaving Paris and travelling with great speed, joined it near Laufanne, and, having reviewed and encouraged the troops, assumed the chief command, according to his original engagement.

He pursued his route into Italy along the lake of Geneva, and afterwards by the borders of the Rhone, through Villeneuve, l'Aigle, and Bex, to the confluence of the Rhone and Durance near Martinach. So far the roads had been practicable; but, in order to enter the valley of Aosta, it was necessary to traverse, for more than twenty Italian miles, the mountain called the Great St. Bernard, situated between those of Simplon and Mont Blanc. From Martinach to St. Peters, the road, though

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extremely bad, was not absolutely untrodden ; human abodes, vegetation and pasturage, were found : but after passing this place, nature, entirely still, presented no object to the eye but snow and naked rocks. From St. Peter's it is three leagues to the summit of the St. Bernard, by a road which cannot be passed by two men a-breast.

At the top of this mountain is the monastery, from the founder of which it derives its name. The tenants, celebrated above all eulogy for their benevolence in seeking out, rescuing, or restoring, travellers who have strayed, are benumbed, or even buried in the snow, were on this occasion made auxiliaries to Buonaparte, who had not now to learn how much any circumstance producing an appearance of dramatic effect would animate his own followers and impose on the rest of mankind. The progress of the soldiery had been hitherto truly singular. For transporting the artillery, general Marmont and brigadier general Gassendi contrived two ingenious devices : the first was, to hollow out trunks of trees like canoes, in which were deposited the artillery and mortars ; then a hundred men harnessing themselves to a cable dragged the piece along, while others, furnished with hand-spikes to prevent its falling over the precipices, directed its course. The other scheme was the use of sledges on casters ; the gun-carriages being taken to pieces were transported separately, except the carriages of four-pounders, which were laid on a kind

of

of litters and conveyed entire. The caissons were emptied, and the ammunition stowed in chests borne by men or by mules. Every thing in the expedition hitherto favoured of romance: the solitude of the region; the concurrence of individual efforts to the general advantage, which made every man a hero; the singularity of the route, and the importance of its results; all aided the predisposition to lofty contemplations which the most judicious travellers have observed to prevail in mountainous countries. While the troops were thus animated, and their imaginations exalted, Buonaparte had contrived that even the ordinary solace of refectory should harmonise with the general sublimity of the scene and sentiment. By his orders, and with money supplied by him, the monks of St. Bernard had prepared a feast for the whole army; and when the panting soldiers reached the heights of the monastic abode, tables spread, as if by enchantment, on the snow, and well furnished with bread, meat, and wine, were suddenly descried; and the holy fathers, with bending grace, solicited the army to partake of their humble fare.

In the descent from St. Bernard to Verney, the first village in Piedmont, fatigue was diminished, but peril augmented. For a league, a road is formed on a rugged mountain; the horseman is there obliged to lead or follow his beast, as he cannot walk a-breaſt without danger of falling into an abyſs. On one

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side the road is bounded with frightful precipices ; on the other, mountains of snow, suspended over the head of the passenger, threaten to descend in thundering avalanches and bury him and every opposing object in their irresistible course. In descending, some soldiers imagined the scheme of sliding over the polished snow to abridge their toil : the general himself, it is said, set the example ; and many who followed it reached in a few minutes a small plain at the bottom, at which they could not have arrived by the path in less time than several hours. The whole journey was performed without other loss than a piece of artillery and three men carried away by an avalanche, and four or five horses who fell down the precipices. As they descended the air became more mild, and grass and flowers again relieved their eyes ; and in half an hour afterwards the heat became suffocating ; so that in one day the army experienced three seasons, winter, spring, and summer.

18th. The advanced guard, under general Lafnes, having reached the valley of Aosta, took the road to Turin by Dora Baltea. In their way lay the castle of Bard, which protects the entrance into Piedmont and is defended by an excellent citadel, and might have arrested the progress of the army ; but their diligence and sagacity in planting, after three hours' labour, a battery on a point in the rocks which commanded the fort, compelled it to surrender.

When they were masters of this castle, the French had

had before them two roads by which they might march to the relief of Genoa: the one by Chivasso, Turin, Asti, and Alexandria; the other by Vercelli, Navarre, Milan, Lodi, and Placenza. The first was rather the shortest, but in preferring the other Buonaparte avoided the necessity of passing under the cannon of Turin and Alexandria, which he had neither time nor force to besiege, and gained the advantage of seizing the principal magazines and stores formed by the Austrians on the Tessino, the Adda, and the Oglio. After a feint, which deceived the Imperialists intrenched near Romano, Buonaparte took Vercelli; after which Chivasso, Mafferano, Biella di Trino, Varallo, Borgo di Sessia, and all the towns in Upper Piedmont from Fenestrelles to the confluence of the Sessia and the Po, opened their gates. Moreau was enabled, in consequence of his success in Germany, to detach twenty-five thousand men under general Moncey, which entered Italy by the Simplon and the St. Gothard.

In a few days the whole French army under the command of the first consul was united on the Tessino; on the other side of which the Austrians under general Laudohn were entrenched, and had removed the bridges and carried over the boats. Several ingenious manœuvres and a bold exploit of a French demi-brigade enabled them, however, to seize some of these vessels, and by means of a flying bridge which

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which they afterwards established, the whole army crossed the Tessino: Buonaparte entered Milan, and invested the castle; an Italian general named Lechi gained possession of all the territories of the Cisalpine republic between the Sessia and the Serio, except the fort of Arona; and Lasnes took possession of Pavia, which was hastily evacuated by the troops of the emperor.

Thus, in a fortnight after his descent from the Alps, Buonaparte was placed in the midst of his former conquests, having taken the Austrian magazines and the garrisons left by Melas, and his central position intercepted the communication of that general with the Tyrol. Yet he was with his whole army perfectly isolated, and it appeared certain that a single reverse must expose him to inevitable destruction. On his entry into Milan, Buonaparte made haste to re-establish the Cisalpine republic; released the traitors who had been confined since the abolition of the republican system; the magistrates formerly appointed by him, having come to Paris for the purpose, were reinstated in their offices; the national guard was re-

4th.

organised, and armed from the magazines of the Austrians; and the first consul issued three proclamations, suited to his present purposes and calculated to promote his future views. The first established in Milan a French minister plenipotentiary, charged with all the relations of that government with the

the

the Cisalpine republic, empowered to collect all contributions and seize all property of the powers at war with France, and to convoke the consulta, established for the purpose of preparing a constitution. The second decreed the formation of this consulta, to be composed of fifty members, under the presidency and direction of the French minister. And by the third a provisional government of nine persons was created, but forbidden to exercise judicial or legislative powers, and commanded to correspond with the French plenipotentiary. The provisional government instantly exhibited their devotion ^{4th June.} to Buonaparte by proclaiming the re-organisation of their government as *free and independent*, and issuing orders for putting the French system in force and abolishing that of the Austrians.

During these transactions, a detachment ^{4th.} under Murat and Lafnes, proceeding rapidly along the left bank of the Po, seized Placenza, and, having repaired the bridge of boats, prepared to march for the relief of Genoa by ascending the left bank of the Trebbia. This project was, however, rendered abortive. In prosecuting his expedition into Provence, Melas was inattentive to the voice of prudence and the dictates of military skill. He found no support from the people; and, ^{22d May} although he penetrated as far as the bridge ^{to 3d June.} of Var, he was soon compelled to retreat and evacuate Nice and the Ligurian mountains, to concentrate his forces

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forces on the Tanaro and the Bormida. General Suchet, after possessing himself of all the posts evacuated by Melas, intended marching for the relief of Genoa by the Corniche, but was prevented by the surrender of the city. The strict maintenance of the blockade by the Austrian army and the British fleet soon reduced the garrison and inhabitants, amounting to a hundred thousand souls, to the most deplorable state of want, when Massena was obliged to yield to the solicitations of the people, and accepted 4th June. favourable terms of capitulation; terms which it is supposed would not have been granted, but the besieging army had received orders to quit their positions and combine with Melas in resisting Buonaparte.

When the French general was apprised of the loss of Genoa, he perceived that it would be improper for him to remove to a considerable distance from the Po, as the Austrians had still eighty thousand men in the Ligurian mountains, although it was not easy for them to combine this whole force in one body. Half the army, under general Ott, was in the vicinity of Genoa; the other half in the county of Tende, near the source of the Tanaro: the great object of the Austrian commander was therefore to unite these two bodies, and that of the first consul was to attack and defeat them separately. To effect this purpose, Buonaparte marched rapidly towards the Bormida, crossing the Tidone, the Versa, the Vera, the Corpa, the

the Stafara, the Curona, the Scrivia, and finally the Bormida, seeking a position where he would be fortified between the Tanaro and the mountains, and able to attack at pleasure the division coming from Genoa by Gavi or Novi, or that coming from Nice by Ormea or Asti. To frustrate this project, general Ott united his army by forced marches between the Bormida and the Scrivia, pressing forward and endeavouring to impede the progress of the French. Frequent skirmishes were occasioned by this mode of proceeding, the most considerable of which took place between Broni and Voghera ; and although the republicans gained some advantage, they could not prevent the junction of Ott and Melas, which was no sooner effected than preparations were made for a pitched battle.

At day-break, the Austrians passed the Bormida by two bridges, formed in three columns, and marched to encounter the advanced guard of the French, who were also divided in three ; the left and centre being commanded by Victor, the right by Lannes, and supported by the cavalry under Murat. The right wing of the Austrians ascended the Bormida, the centre was placed on the great road towards the village of Marengo, from which the battle took its name ; and the left extended towards Castel Cenolo. After an obstinate contest, which lasted six hours, the Austrians had gained possession of Marengo, and compelled general Victor to retreat ; and

CHAP. and his movement compelled Lafnes to adopt the
 XXXI. fame measure. The victory appeared complete; the
 1800. republicans, defeated in all directions, retired to the plain of San Guilio, where Defaix was stationed with a small *corps de reserve*. With this body he made a sudden and desperate charge on the pursuing army; who were already uttering shouts of victory: the republicans turned to second this gallant effort; the Austrians were broken, a division of six thousand surrounded and made prisoners, and, after a close engagement of thirteen hours, victory remained with the republicans. Their account of killed and wounded made the loss of the Austrians amount to eight thousand, and seven thousand prisoners; while their own did not exceed five thousand slain and wounded, and very few captured: but in this statement there is probably, as usual, some exaggeration. The honour and advantages of the victory remained with Buonaparte, who had been defeated, and in a disorderly state of retreat; while, such is the caprice of fortune, Defaix, to whom the success of the day was solely due, was killed on the field: he was generally esteemed and beloved in the French army, and the peculiar circumstances attending his death procured for him general and undissembled expressions of homage and regret.

In the battle of Marengo it was obvious that Buonaparte had fame, rank, and even life, at stake: but on the part of the Austrians it appeared only an ordinary encounter;

encounter ; if successful, they annihilated the hopes of the French in Italy; if defeated, with far greater loss than the French ascribed to them, they had still abundant means of retreat, and a great series of exertions would have been requisite to reduce the numerous fortified places still in their hands. The temporary loss of victory had not dispirited the Imperial troops ; they were still equal to their opponents in numbers, still ready to renew the encounter, and for the most part unwilling to allow that the incident which closed the day entitled their opponents to claim the honours of victory. Melas, however, seems to have been awed by the influence of circumstances, his judgment dazzled by the supposed ascendancy of Buonaparte, or his faculties enfeebled by the temporary failure of his hopes. The great and experienced general vanished from view ; and nothing remained but an abject and dispirited individual, ready to yield to every terror and to purchase relaxation by every concession. He feared that he could not find subsistence for his soldiers, that his communication with Alexandria would be intercepted, that he could afford no support to the emperor's dominions in Venice, and that on the slightest check he must lay down his arms. Influenced by this panic, for no sufficient authority exists to accuse him of evil intentions, he concluded, two days after the battle of Marengo, a convention with Buonaparte, by which he surrendered to him the fortresses of Genoa, Savona,

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CHAP. Savona, Coni, Ceva, Turin, Tortona, Alexandria,
 XXXI. Milan, Pizzighitone, Arona, Urbino, all Liguria,
 1800. Piedmont, and the Cisalpine, except the towns of
 Peschiera, Mantua, Borgo-Forte, Ferrara, and Ancona,
 on condition that the Austrian army might be per-
 mitted to cross the French cantonments and retire
 behind the line of the Mincio, and that a truce should
 be established, and not broken without ten days' notice.
 The general aspect of affairs did not allow the cabinet
 of Vienna to refuse the ratification of this inglorious
 and injudicious compact, and in a few days
 24th. Genoa was restored by prince Hohenzollern
 to general Suchet.

The success of Buonaparte and the armistice in
 Italy having frustrated the principal hopes of the
 cabinet of Vienna, it remained only for the republicans
 to complete their attempts so auspiciously commenced
 on the Danube, in order to crown all their expecta-
 tions, and return to Paris claiming the honours of
 having wrested peace from the hands of victory.
 Moreau and Buonaparte had been correctly informed
 of the proceedings of each other, and, till the great
 blow was struck in Italy, hostilities were somewhat
 relaxed in Germany. In order to keep Kray at a
 distance from Ulm, Lecourbe had proceeded towards
 the Lech, made himself master of Augsburg, and
 threatened Munich; but this attempt was not crowned
 with success, as Kray still remained in his camp
 under the walls of Ulm. This city, being built on
 the

the left bank of the Danube, over which there is a bridge, is famous for the excellency of its fortifications and the extent of its trade; and it afforded the Imperialists the advantage of acting at pleasure on either side of the river. When Moreau was apprised of the event of the battle of

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19th June. Marengo, he prepared to pass the Danube between Ulm and Donauwert; and achieved the exploit, after an obstinate resistance from general Sztaray, who, being advantageously posted on the celebrated plain of Hochstet or Blenheim, disputed his ground with vigour, and ability, though without success. The French were highly elated with this victory, which, by compelling Kray to retreat and leave Ulm to its own strength, gained them possession of part of the circle of Franconia, and that of the Lower Rhine from Suabia to the line of neutrality of the north of Germany protected by the king of Prussia. In their exulting narratives of this battle, they boasted that it would efface the memory of that which was won on the same spot by the duke of Marlborough; but posterity will not probably confirm the prediction.

In a few days another engagement took place in the neighbourhood of Neubourg, which also terminated advantageously to the French, and was rendered remarkable by the death of the celebrated Latour d'Auvergne Corret. This extraordinary man derived his descent from the celebrated marshal Turenne, and had acquired a reputation as well in literature

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literature as in arms. After his exploits in the Western Pyrenées which have been already mentioned, he embarked for Brittany, but was captured, and for some time a prisoner in England. Being exchanged, his years and the fatigue resulting from his long and peculiarly laborious services, were considered sufficient to entitle him to the benefits of retreat and repose, and he was living in modest ease at Paris, when he learnt that a friend at the age of fourscore was deprived of his only son by the law of conscription. The generous veteran offered himself as a substitute, and, obtaining permission to serve as a volunteer, enjoyed the gratification of liberating the son of his friend. The first consul, as a reward for his past services, made out a brevet styling him first grenadier of the army; but Latour found no honour in such a distinction, which he said was not applicable to any French soldier, particularly in a corps where there ought to be neither first nor last. He expired like Turenne, his great grandfather, in the arms of victory; and his memory was honoured by the elevation of a monument on the very spot where he fell.

The Austrians were compelled after this engagement to retreat beyond the Iser, and afterwards behind the Inn; while the republicans, occupying almost all Bavaria, established their headquarters at Munich. The Imperialists defended the hereditary states, from the banks of the Mein and the Rednitz to those of the Danube; and following

following the course of the Inn, from the mouth of that river to the mountains which separate the Tyrol from the Grisons, they abandoned the lower country, to concentrate themselves between the Inn, the Tyrol, and those states of Italy which remained to them after the convention of Marengo. The French troops formed an uninterrupted line from the shores of the Rhine, near Frankfort, to those of the Mediterranean, in the neighbourhood of Lucca. In this position the provisional armistice established in Italy was extended to Germany, and it was agreed that the French should not pass beyond Iser; the Imperialists should retire to the right of the Inn, from the source of that river to Passaw; and the country situated between the Inn and Iser and the Danube was declared neuter during the term of the armistice.

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14th.

Buonaparte, having confided the command of the army of Italy to Massena, was already returned to Paris, accompanied by Berthier and a few other generals. In passing through Lyons, he laid the first stone of new buildings intended to replace those which had been destroyed during the reign of terror. He arrived in the capital in less than two months after quitting it, on this brilliant, fortunate, and truly important, expedition.

2d July.

During the suspension of arms, the French lost no time in effecting such changes in the neighbouring governments as would render the renewal of hostilities precarious

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precarious and disadvantageous to the emperor, and facilitate those projects which the republic was determined to complete, whether in war or peace. The re-establishment of the Cisalpine republic, nominally *independent*, though in fact under the immediate control of French missionaries, rendered it certain that France would never voluntarily forego her hold on Italy; a similar system was introduced in Piedmont; and the Ligurian republic, immediately after the revolution effected at St. Cloud, had changed its directorial for a consular government. Switzerland, overawed by French interference, was doomed to see all pretence of freedom and all affectation of regard for public liberty expire, in consequence of the forcible and unconstitutional nomination of seven members of the senate to form a provisional executive council, who usurped all the authorities of the country.

Great Britain was again the only formidable enemy acting against France; and her exertions, supported by valour and public spirit, were felt in all parts of the globe where France yet possessed or wished to acquire an ascendancy. While the armies of the emperor kept the field, the British fleet created continual alarms on the coast, and by frequent descents obliged the republicans to employ a number of troops on those points, instead of sending them to augment the force of the great armies. After attacking the peninsula of Quiberon, the English troops took possession of two
little

little isles between Belleisle and the mouth of the Vilaine, called Houat and Hedic; whence they frequently alarmed the neighbouring coast, but could not, for want of adequate force, make any considerable impression. The fleet was successful in every quarter; the commerce of France and her allies was generally intercepted, and the remains of their navy strictly blocked up in the various ports, while the coasts were insulted by brave attempts. Among the most conspicuous were those of sir John Borlase Warren in the Quimper river, and captain Campbell in the roads of Dunkirk. A military expedition under sir James Pulteney was not equally prosperous; being repulsed at Ferrol, and making an unsuccessful attempt on the town and harbour of Cadiz: but the British forces captured the island of Goree, and the Spanish settlement of Curacoa; and, after a long blockade, made themselves masters by force of that possession which France had acquired by treachery, the island of Malta.

The French meliorated their situation by concluding treaties of peace with the Barbaric states of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, and by arranging in an amicable manner their disputes with the United States of America. The truce with the Austrians having expired, a new one was entered into for forty-five days, in Germany, and

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June.

July.

Aug. and
Oct.

April
and Oct.

5th Sept.

30th Sept.

20th and
29th Sept.

CHAP. afterwards extended to Italy; but the emperor pur-
 XXXI. chased this concession by resigning into the hands of
 1800. the republicans the important fortresses of Philipsburg,
 Ulm, and Ingolstadt.

Before the latter armistice was concluded, preliminary terms of pacification between Austria and France had been in part settled; but the emperor, concurring in the representations made by the British cabinet, refused to ratify them, unless Great Britain was permitted to send a plenipotentiary to Luneville, the place fixed on for the general congress to arrange the definitive treaty. This proposition introduced a correspondence between lord Grenville, the British
 24th Aug. secretary of state, and Otto, the French agent
 to 9th Oct. for prisoners, resident in London, in the course of which a proposal was made by the French government for what was termed a naval armistice. The substance of the project delivered on this subject was, that the ships and merchant vessels of each nation should enjoy a free navigation without search; that Malta (the surrender of which was not at that time known), Alexandria, and Belleisle, should be open to all French and neutral vessels which might enter to supply them with provisions; the squadrons blockading Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Flushing, to retire; officers to be dispatched to the Mediterranean announcing the armistice, and Spain and Holland to be included in its regulations. It was impossible that the British ministry should comply with this extravagant
 gant

gant propofal in all its extent; but as the emperor had not yet been driven to make his laft important facrifices for a renewed armiftice, they endeavoured to frame in the courfe of negotiation a more moderate fcheme of naval forbearance. This was, however, ftedfaftly refifted by France, and the treaty terminated without producing the flighteft alteration in the difpofition of the parties. France offered to accept from Great Britain propofals for a feparate peace; but the miniftry with honourable inflexibility declared the invariable determination of the king to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his allies, and decline entering into any meafures tending to feparate his interefts from thofe powers who fhould continue to make common caufe with him in the courfe of the war.

A congress to treat of peace was eftablifhed at Luneville; but although the emperor ftill expreffed a defire not to negotiate except in conjunction with Great Britain, the French, convinced of his weaknefs by the high price he paid for the renewed truce, and affecting to apprehend fome hostile defign in confequence of a journey made by the queen of Naples to Vienna, and of fome military preparations in England, prepared to recommence the conteft at the firft favourable moment. Brune, who had been lately promoted to the command of the army of Italy, altered the western limits of the Cifalpine republic by feizing Lamellino and the Novarèfe which had been ceded to

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the king of Sardinia in 1707, and the Sessia formed the barrier between this republic and Piedmont. On pretence of some insurrections of the inhabitants of Arezzo and the neighbouring mountains, general Brune ordered Dupont to occupy Tuscany; the supposed insurgents were defeated without difficulty in the Appenines; the French took possession of Prato, Pescia, Pistoïa, and Leghorn; and Arezzo, the birth-place of Porfenna, Petrarch, and Aretino, was taken by assault, the inhabitants massacred, and the fortifications and walls reduced to a heap of ruins.

Notwithstanding all their acquired advantages, the French did not yet find it possible to make the emperor conform to such terms of peace as they thought fit to impose, and therefore prepared for a vigorous attack on the expiration of the truce. Moreau, who had married and retired into France, returned to his troops, who were rapidly collected. Augereau, at the head of the army of Holland, directed his march to the right of the Rhine, while Macdonald from the Grisons prepared to force a passage into Italy over the eternal snows which crown the Rhetian mountains. The army of the Rhine was cantoned in Bavaria; the right commanded by Lecourbe, the left by Grenier, and the centre by Moreau. Its operations were supported on the Danube by the army of St. Suzanne, and the Gallo-Batavian troops under Augereau; and on the right, in the Tyrol, by those of Macdonald.

Before

Before the commencement of his march, Moreau addressed to his troops a proclamation, assuring them of the pacific dispositions of their government, blaming count Cobenzel for refusing to negotiate for peace except in the presence of English plenipotentiaries, and exhorting them to contemn the rigours of the season, as they did in conquering Holland and defending Kehl.

After some previous skirmishes, in which the Austrians were successful, a decisive engagement was fought between the rivers Iser and Inn, on the heights which separate Bierkram and Neumarckt, and near Hohenlinden, where the last armistice was concluded. The snow fell in great abundance the whole day, during which victory was obstinately contested from seven in the morning till night, and chiefly decided by the use of the bayonet. At about three in the afternoon, the centre of the Imperialists gave way, their wings were speedily put to the rout; eleven thousand prisoners, and a hundred pieces of cannon, according to the French accounts, fell into their hands, and the remainder of the Austrian force was saved by night alone. The discomfited army retreated to the right bank of the Inn; nor could the presence of their beloved hero, the archduke Charles, who in this dreadful emergency consented to resume the command, restore their spirits. The French, rapidly crossing the Inn, the Salza, the Trazen, the Ens, and the Ips, had made themselves masters of
Salzbourg

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Salzbourg and Lintz, and were on the banks of the Trazen, within seventeen leagues of Vienna; while Augereau, having defeated the Austrians in several encounters, ascended the Rednitz, and approached the Danube. The capital was a prey to the most anxious alarms, and felt a renewal of all the terrors which occasioned the signature of the treaty of Leoben.

Nor were the affairs of the emperor more propitious in Italy. Macdonald, having scaled the rocks of the Splugen, and traversed in the midst of winter the chain of mountains which separates the valleys of Maiera, Adda, and Oglio, penetrated into Italy by the Upper Adige, to take in the rear the formidable lines of the Adige and the Mincio. Brune, having collected his forces on the banks of the Po, pursued the Austrians to the states of Venice. Count Bellegarde, the successor of Melas, defended the Mincio from Peschiera to Mantua; but his intrenchments were forced after a spirited resistance. For
17th Nov. twenty successive days the French general continued his victorious career, passing the Adige, the Alpone, the Feassana, the Brenta, and establishing his head-quarters at Treviso, within a few leagues of Venice. Augereau and St. Suzanne were approaching the hereditary domains; while Macdonald, master of the mountains of the Tyrol, could with equal ease descend upon Germany or Italy.

Under

Under these circumstances the Imperial cabinet proposed an armistice; which was executed between the archduke Charles and general Moreau at Steyer, and which, according to Moreau's expression, "put it out of the power of the house of Austria to resume hostilities." A convention for Italy equally favourable to the republicans was executed at Treviso, in virtue of which the fortresses of Peschiera, Ferrara, Porto Legnano, and Ancona, were ceded to France. To these Mantua was added by a subsequent treaty.

These cessions were the forerunners of a general pacification on the Continent. The king of Naples obtained an armistice; and subsequently concluded peace, on the hard but inevitable conditions of opening his ports to the French and shutting them against English vessels, engaging to furnish neither provisions nor ammunition to Malta, and paying a large sum to the French republic. A congress at Luneville speedily arranged preliminary articles of peace, which were afterwards definitively ratified by the Imperial diet.

By this compact the Belgic provinces were formally confirmed to France, as stipulated by the treaty of Campo Formio; but in addition, the emperor ceded to the republic the county of Falkenstein with its dependencies, and the Frickthal, and all that belonged to the house of Austria on the left of the Rhine between

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16th Jan.

19th.

26th.

9th Feb.

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between Zurzach and Basle. The emperor was also to retain the Venetian territories, but to give up the Brisgau to the duke of Modena; and the grand-duke of Tuscany ceded his dominions to the infant duke of Parma. The French were to possess all the country on the left bank of the Rhine, on restoring the fortresses of Duffeldorff, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburgh, Cassel, Kehl, and Old Brisch, but on the express condition of their not being repaired. And the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics were respectively acknowledged, and their independence guaranteed by both the contracting parties, who declared the absolute right of those republics to adopt whatever form of government they pleased.

Such were the general outlines of the treaty of Luneville, which spread general joy throughout France; a joy far better founded than the boasts of moderation with which the treaty was announced in the proclamation issued by government*.

* In this chapter I have been obliged, for want of other documents, to follow the History by Desadoards, a prejudiced and corrupt author: I have also consulted the State Papers and periodical publications.

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Efforts of France to excite Indignation against England—Publication of pretended Correspondence—Robbery of Stage Coaches—Disorders in the Departments—Attempts to assassinate Buonaparte—all imputed to the English Ministry—Formation of a Northern Confederacy—Conduct of the Emperor of Russia—Prussia joins the Confederacy—State of Great Britain—Termination of the Northern Confederacy—Portugal compelled to make a Treaty disadvantageous to Great Britain—Capture of Madeira—France threatens to invade England—Attacks on their Flotillas, particularly in the Harbour of Boulogne—Capture by the English of many Islands in the West Indies—and of Ternate—Naval Actions—Sir James Saumarez—Negotiation for Peace—State of the French in Egypt at the death of Kléber—Alterations effected by Menou—Preparation of a British Armament—They rendezvous at Marmorice—Sail for Egypt—Landing effected—Exertions of the English—They take the Heights near Alexandria—Battle of Aboukir—Death of Sir Ralph Abercromby—General Hutchinson succeeds him—Capture of Rosetta—Destruction of the Canal of Alexandria—Capture of Fort Saint Julien—The French abandon El Aft—Capture of Rahmanieh—Menou sends General Reynier and other officers Prisoners on board Ship—Three of them taken by the English—Other Disasters attend the French—They are defeated by the Grand Vizier at El Hanka—

Hanka—Junction of the British with the Turkish Troops—Capture of Cairo—Siege and Surrender of Alexandria—Peace between England and France.

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ANTICIPATING that England would soon be their only active enemy, the government of France employed all their arts and influence in exciting such a spirit among their own subjects, and establishing such a system among the other powers of Europe, as would promote their views of crushing, and, if possible, destroying, that nation. Every slight commotion in France, every exertion of expiring faction, every crime dictated by political enthusiasm or personal vengeance, was imputed to the agency of the British administration; and, enslaved as was the French press, and prejudiced and ignorant as were the people, it was not difficult to dupe their credulity and excite their passions by the grossest absurdities. Among the most prominent of these was a fabrication worthy of the genius, veracity, and humanity, of the celebrated Fouché, the minister of police, in whom Buonaparte then thought fit to confide. This eminent disciple of the school of jacobinism published a volume of three hundred pages, containing a pretended correspondence between the British ministry and their agents in France. This collection consisted of thirty-one letters, the cypher used by the writers, schedules, passports, and furloughs, printed and manuscript, and a plan of counter-police to inform the emigrants and Chouans of the measures taken against them by the

the

the French government. If any proof were wanting that this pretended discovery was a mere fabrication, it would be supplied by the observation which accompanied it, that “such was the flexibility of the springs put in motion by the ministry of London, that although the correspondence was seized, and some of the principal agents arrested, it was not possible to detect the accomplices and develop the tissue of this vast intrigue, which an infinite number of persons were interested to conceal, some of whom perhaps surrounded the government.” It would be an unprofitable and tedious task to analyze this clumsy fiction, which was not, however, without its effect, in deluding and inflaming the people.

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In this correspondence it was also pretended that the English agents, for want of other supplies for the execution of their designs, hired large troops of robbers to attack the stage-coaches, and plunder the purchasers of national domains; and that from these exploits the royalists derived their chief pecuniary resources.

Under pretence that he was one of the principal persons implicated in this conspiracy, and even confidentially entrusted with full powers from Louis XVIII., the government caused the chevalier de Coigny to be arrested, and confined in the Temple. As the Chouans, who, in virtue of the peace they had made with the republicans, considered themselves in some degree as a separate and independent power, were
highly

CHAP. highly interested in the fate of this individual, they
 XXXII. took the most effectual method to insure his good
 1800. treatment and release. A senator, named Clement-
 de-Ris, a man of mild character but known to be
 connected with Syeyes, was at his country-seat a few
 leagues from Tours, getting in the vintage,
 22d Sept. when he was suddenly surrounded by a
 small number of men armed and masked, who forced
 him into a carriage, declaring to his wife and servants
 that they detained him only as a hostage, and that
 his treatment should be strictly conformable to that
 experienced by the chevalier de Coigny. Notwith-
 standing every exertion of government, and the
 expenditure of considerable sums, it was impossible to
 discover the place of this senator's concealment; and it
 was not till after the doors of de Coigny's prison had
 been reluctantly opened, and he was beyond the
 reach of the government, that Clement-de-Ris was
 replaced in safety at the door of his own house.

At the same period the relaxed state of the police,
 the pressure of want, personal malevolence, and per-
 haps religious and political fury, contributed to
 render the roads through France and the country
 residences insecure. Robbers were so numerous and
 audacious that it was found necessary to impose a tax
 on all travellers to defray the expence of a regular
 military guard, without whose escort no journey could
 be performed in safety. A band of men, known
 under the name of *Chauffeurs*, are reported to have
 committed

committed horrible cruelties to extort from those who fell into their power property which they might have concealed; and it is said that many priests who had taken oaths to the government, were put to death in their own houses, and while travelling. One whose fate was peculiarly cited was Andrien, an ex-member of the legislative assembly and the convention, a voter for the death of Louis XVI., and afterwards, in some measure, a pleader for meliorating the condition of the princess-royal. He was taken from a stage-coach and shot about five leagues from Quimper.

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These events, however, occasioned but slight sensations compared with those which were produced by supposed attempts to assassinate the first consul. The first of these which met the notice of the public, for several are said to have been suppressed, was represented in the following manner. Fouché was informed that a person named Demerville had distributed money among certain individuals to murder Buonaparte as he returned from the opera. The intended victim, informed of the circumstances, repaired to his box without exhibiting the slightest uneasiness. Diana and Cerachi, two of the conspirators, were arrested in the passages; and the others fell, a few days afterwards, into the hands of the police. Fouché made a long and somewhat mysterious report on the subject, in which he referred to the English committee; and as peace was not yet concluded

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concluded with the emperor, obscurely alluded to the participation of *other countries of Europe* in the criminal plots. Four of the persons accused were sentenced to death, others were acquitted; but, on the representation of Fouché, a decree of deportation was pronounced by the legislative bodies against a hundred and thirty individuals*. Although it was not even pretended that many of these men were implicated in the late plot, their fate excited no pity, as they were some of the most furious and bloody-minded jacobins; men who had stained themselves with blood in all the massacres which had contributed to stigmatise the republic, and whose atrocities were hardly excelled by those of Fouché himself who procured their exile.

A second attempt against the life of Buonaparte was conducted with more secrecy, and threatened a more fatal catastrophe. Engineers are well acquainted with an invention of Frederick Jambelli, to protect Antwerp when besieged by the duke of Parma towards the close of the sixteenth century, called *la machine infernale*. On his model, a machine was formed similar to a water-butt, used to convey that element to those parts of the city which lie at a distance from the river and public fountains. This butt was bound with iron hoops, and filled with powder, balls, and combustibles; and in the hole left for the spiggott,

* This was the number publicly specified; but there is good reason for believing that ten times as many were sacrificed to the jealousy and alarm of Buonaparte.

was a match. It was set on a small carriage drawn by a single horse, and placed at the entrance of *la rue Nicaise*, on the side of the *place du Caroufel*, in such a manner as considerably to obstruct the passage. A person who stood by as apparent proprietor, was habited like an ordinary driver; and the exact resemblance of the machine to the butts commonly seen in Paris prevented all suspicion.

24th Dec.

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At eight o'clock in the evening, which happened to be dark and rainy, Buonaparte went in his carriage towards the opera-house, to attend the performance of a new oratorio by Haydn, called the Creation of the World. His coachman, driving with great rapidity and skill, avoided the machine, although it almost blocked up the way; and he had but just entered La Rue St. Honoré, when it blew up with a tremendous explosion, damaging forty-six of the adjacent houses, and throwing down five-and-twenty feet of garden-wall belonging to the consul Le Brun. The machine with the horse that drew it were thrown to a great height in the air, and dashed to pieces in the descent. Madame Buonaparte, who was getting into her carriage at the moment, insisted on following her husband; whose life on this occasion was saved by the skill of his coachman, and the swiftness of his horses, or perhaps by the humid state of the atmosphere which impeded the kindling of the match.

This plot, like the last, was generally attributed to the jacobins, rendered furious by the execution and deportation

CHAP. XXXII. deportation of their colleagues ; and Fouché himself
 1800. did not escape suspicion, as a participator in their
 sentiments and a clandestine abettor of their revenge.

That crafty minister, however, soon found means to
 1801. give a new impulse to popular clamour ; and,
 31st Jan. being secure from contradiction by the state
 of the press, published a report imputing the whole
 contrivance to the Chouans, paid and directed by the
 English ministry. Two of the conspirators, he said,
 were arrested, and from their confessions the names
 of the others were ascertained. The police had long
 been informed of the return of the Chouan Georges
 from England, furnished with new plots of assassina-
 tion, and with guineas for payment of his accomplices.
 The conspirators occupied themselves at first in
 robberies of the public funds, in vague plans against
 government, in projects for rekindling civil war in
 the west, and in a scheme for plundering the Troyes
 diligence. But although these villains, Fouché ob-
 serves, were continually surrounded by the eyes of the
 police, and all their discourses overheard, no order
 was issued for their arrest, because it was considered
 more desirable to take with them the documents
 necessary to their conviction. Having continued the
 narration of circumstances respecting this improbable
 fable till the day of the explosion, the minister of
 police related the means by which intelligence had
 been gained of the immediate perpetrators. The
 dead horse which had drawn the machine was re-
 cognised.

cognised by the dealer who sold and the corn-
 chandler who furnished him with food ; the cooper
 who hooped the cask, the porter at the house where
 the cart had stood, and the salesmen who delivered
 blue trowsers to the conspirators, all concurred in
 such descriptions of the person, features, and mode of
 speech of the parties, as left no doubt that Georges
 and his agents, so long objects of jealousy to the
 police, were the very men. One of them, named
 Francis Carbon, being taken in custody, made a con-
 fession, which occasioned also the apprehension of
 St. Régent, the man who fired the match. Several
 others were taken, but these two alone were found
 guilty, and beheaded on the Place de Grève.

The whole narrative of Fouché is exposed to
 suspicion, but the mystery attending the transaction to
 which it relates cannot yet be elucidated. A political
 use was made of the incident to inflame the populace
 of France against the British government, by imputing
 to them a design repugnant to the nature of English-
 men, that of assassinating an enemy. In this, however,
 it is probable that Buonaparte himself was rather a
 dupe than a deceiver ; since in subsequent periods,
 when the dread of an untimely end has amounted
 almost to insanity, he has not scrupled to repeat, in the
 hearing of English gentlemen, the absurd calumnies
 and atrocious suggestions of the jacobin Fouché.
 The people, as usual, ready to believe every thing
 delivered to them by authority, willingly accredited

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CHAP. every fiction, however gross. They gave implicit faith
 XXXII. not only to the tale suggested by the late transactions,
 1801. but were made to believe that all the horrors and murders which had disfigured France in the course of the revolution were directed and paid by the British government*.

Whatever influence these assertions might have on the French nation, their effect was little to be apprehended while Great Britain maintained the indisputable sovereignty of the ocean, not only protecting her own coasts and settlements, but assailing, in every part of the world, those of her opponents, ruining their commerce, and reducing them to a state of impotent mendicancy. To countervail the ascendancy of the British naval power, the governors of France availed themselves of the jealousies and disputes to which a long-continued contest of unexampled

* Desadoards, writing, what he is pleased to term, a *Philosophical History of the Revolution*, comprises the general abstract of these absurd calumnies in the following sentence: "The secret conduct pursued by the British ministry during the French revolution was no longer a mystery in Europe. It was known that *Marat was in England, in connection with the chancellor Pitt, while supposed to be concealed in a cellar at Paris*; that Pitt had cherished this execrable being, and had many times repeated that he was a man who would be of the utmost use to him. It was known that *by the intervention of Marat, Danton, and some other men of that stamp, the perfidious Pitt had excited all the revolutionary tempests in France, had shed the blood of many thousand individuals, and perhaps that of Louis XVI. and his consort.*" See *Histoire Philosophique, &c.* vol. IX. p. 391.

activity

activity and extent had given birth, and represented in the most insidious terms to the powers of the North the necessary precautions of the British fleets in searching and detaining neutral vessels as acts of aggression, tending to establish or confirm an intolerable maritime tyranny. Interest, more persuasive than sophistry, led the northern courts, already much irritated, to renew the pretensions they had advanced during the American war, and to revive the false and inapplicable axiom, that free bottoms make free goods.

Had Sweden and Denmark alone been parties to this system, their efforts would probably have been confined to memorials and remonstrances; but, by one of those strange turns of politics which often derange the best projects of human wisdom and foresight, the emperor of Russia, totally changing his principles, and reversing the acts of that period of his reign which had entitled him to the greatest share of admiration, was become the zealous partisan of France, and the soul of the league fabricated under her auspices for the ruin, as it was hoped, of Great Britain. Justly offended at the transactions in Switzerland at the close of the campaign in 1799, the emperor Paul had observed a gloomy and suspicious neutrality during the first portion of the ensuing year; but as success gilded the banners of Buona-
parte, his eyes became dazzled, and he panted to share his friendship, and the glory which seemed attached

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CHAP. to his cause. The French government easily ap-
 XXXII. preciated the character of this unfortunate prince ;
 1800. they saw that he rather admired what was splendid
 than pursued what was just, and flattered his vanity
 and desire of being thought a model of heroism and
 virtue by the most abject and incessant flatterings.

As the ascendancy of French partisans over the
 mind of the czar increased, he became additionally
 captious in his conduct towards Great Britain, and
 on the surrender of Malta appears to have seized that
 occasion of advancing pretences which would justify a
 premeditated hostility. In defiance of all rules, he
 had, after the treacherous occupation of the island by
 the French, been elected grand-master of the order of
 St. John of Jerusalem, and was desirous of opening a
 negotiation with the British ministry for the possession
 of the island ; but before any considerable progress
 could be made in the transaction, the impatience of
 his temper and violence of his character increasing
 to a degree which afforded evident proofs of insanity,
 produced acts which rendered hostilities between him
 and his late ally inevitable. Buonaparte, anxious to
 secure his friendship, liberated seven thousand Russian
 prisoners captured by the French armies, and sent
 them back to their own country well clothed and
 armed at his expence. Paul fell into the snare, and,
 immediately becoming the warm partisan of France,
 sent a solemn legation, headed by the vice-chancellor
 Kalitchew, to Paris, for the purpose of drawing more
 closely

closely the ties which were to connect the Ruffian empire with the French republic. Although he had formerly expressed his resolution to check the contraband trade carried on by Sweden and Denmark with France to the prejudice of the allies, and of England in particular, he now declared himself the warm champion of their pretended rights, executed a convention to that effect, and, in a fit of desperate rage, dismissed lord Whitworth, the British ambassador, laid an embargo on all British ships in his ports, and marched their crews up the country, where they were detained in disgraceful captivity. The king of Prussia declared his assent to the principles of the new combination, and France exulted in the prospect of a contest which would employ the naval force and enfeeble the resources of her greatest opponent.

The crisis appeared truly tremendous to Great Britain. The nation, placed in a new political position by the incorporate union with Ireland, was oppressed by the calamities of two years of scarcity, and open to all the fluctuations of opinion arising from the clamours and predictions of those who at different periods opposed the war, or were dissatisfied with the views or the measures, political or financial, of the ministers who conducted it. Yet the national spirit, when adequately roused, was sufficient to repel every insult, and the national resources were in full vigour to meet any contest.

The aggressions of
Russia

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Russia were returned with great firmness; the payment of bills due to merchants of that empire was prohibited by an order of council, and vigorous measures were commenced for attacking the northern confederates in other points, when the ministry suddenly dissolved, and was replaced, not by the party so long in opposition, but by cordial friends of the preceding cabinet. Under their auspices a powerful squadron was dispatched to the Baltic, and the victor of the Nile gained new laurels before Copenhagen. Denmark was terrified into a truce; the king of that country, who had sequestered British property at Ham-
 9th. burgh, resigned his prey; the king of Prussia, who, in contempt of neutrality, honour, and justice, had seized Hanover, withdrew his troops; and
 25th. lord St. Helens was deputed ambassador to Petersburg, for the final arrangement of all disputes between the contending nations. The reception of
 23d March. an English plenipotentiary in Russia was facilitated by the sudden death of the emperor Paul, which, in the proclamation of his successor, was ascribed to apoplexy; but it is undoubted that some of his nearest attendants, convinced of the impolicy of his conduct, wearied with his extravagances, and impressed with the clamours of his subjects, who saw inevitable ruin in the quarrel with England, took the only measure which the imperfection of laws in
 arbitrary

arbitrary governments allows for the termination of tyrannical oppression. CHAP.
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Disappointed in this expectation of inflicting a material injury on the commerce and maritime power of Great Britain, France aided Spain in an attack on Portugal, and obtained the advantage of enforcing the acceptance of a treaty by which British vessels were excluded from the ports of that kingdom; but, as a necessary measure of counteraction, the British government seized the island of Madeira, and were generally understood to be preparing for the conquest of the Brazils. Such efforts were not, however, likely to terminate a dispute between states so powerful and so decidedly hostile; and the French appeared to bestow great pains and expence on a project of invasion. For this purpose flotillas were collected in different ports, against which expeditions were directed with different degrees of success. The most conspicuous were those of the brave lord Nelson against the harbour of Boulogne. In the first, after a cannonade of several hours, he destroyed some vessels: his next attempt was to gain possession of the whole force; but the republicans, apprised of his approach, moored the boats with chains to the shore, and defended them with a numerous body of troops, in consequence of which the expedition was frustrated with great loss. In other quarters British valour

1801.

6th June.

25th July.

4th Aug.

15th.

CHAP. valour was gloriously, and often advantageously, dif-
 XXXII. played. On the rupture with the northern
 1801. } March and April. powers, the islands of St. Bartholomew, St.
 Thomas, and St. John, with their dependencies, and
 Santa Cruz, yielded to a fleet commanded by rear-
 admiral Duckworth. The island of St. Martin, jointly
 occupied by the French and Dutch, was taken by the
 same commander; St. Eustatia and Saba were placed
 21st June. by their inhabitants under the protection of
 the British troops; and the island of Ternate
 was captured, after a siege of fifty-two days, by colonel
 Burr, and a squadron belonging to the East-India
 company, under captain Hayes. Naval captures were
 unusually copious, as the commerce of France and
 6th July. her allies was almost unprotected; and such
 were the audacity and confidence of British
 sailors, that captain sir James Saumarez did not hesitate
 to attack, in the bay of Algeiras, a Spanish fleet pro-
 tected by formidable land batteries, and would pro-
 bably have succeeded but for the variation of the
 wind, which occasioned the loss of the Hannibal, and
 three hundred and seventy-five men killed, wounded,
 and missing. Notwithstanding this disaster, the brave
 commander used indefatigable exertion in repairing
 his squadron; and fortune, more propitious to his
 13th. merits, made amends for his disappointment
 by throwing in his way the combined squadron
 of France and Spain, which he attacked with great
 spirit,

spirit, blew up the Real Carlos and San Hermenegildo, each of a hundred and twelve guns, and took the San Antonio of seventy-four*.

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While the war, lately so active and so replete with eventful changes, thus dwindled into empty threats and exploits of minor importance, means were pursued for reconciling Great Britain and France, and restoring to the people the necessary blessings of peace and repose. A correspondence on this subject was maintained through the medium of M. Otto, whose employment in London has already been mentioned; but, although some obstacles, which formerly seemed insuperable impediments to an accommodation, were removed, it was not difficult to perceive that peace could not be attained until the success of an expedition sent from England to attempt the expulsion of the French from their unjust possession of Egypt should be decided.

After the assassination of Kléber, the French found their situation considerably meliorated, not by the exertions of his successor, but in consequence of the victory of Heliopolis and the intelligence of Buonaparte's elevation. The natives of Egypt, astonished at the total defeat and flight of the grand-vizier, whom they had regarded as the invincible representative of the sovereign of the world, were struck with dread, and durst no longer attempt hostile exertions. The

* For these events I have consulted only the public papers and periodical works.

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contributions levied on the inhabitants of Cairo as a punishment for their insurrection enabled the French generals to quiet the clamours of their troops for pay, and Kléber had formed plans for replenishing his ranks by recruiting among the natives : five hundred Copts, three hundred Franks, and fifteen hundred Greeks, were already in the army; and the pacific disposition of Murad Bey and the increasing ascendancy of the republicans allowed them to hope for a considerable augmentation of strength. Kléber had besides formed several other useful establishments, and begun several important works. He had collected five hundred camels for the purposes of carriage in moments of urgency, and when the troops were not in the field they were employed in various useful services. He constructed flying bridges over the branches of the Nile, to facilitate the march of the troops from the coast to the frontier of Syria, and established posts of communication between the different stations of the army. He also commenced works for the security of Cairo against insurgents or assailants, and ordered others to be formed for defence of the coasts. Under him plans, apparently judicious were framed for the internal government of the country, and negotiations opened for the artful purpose of detaching the Turks from the cause of England by a separate peace.

Above all, the army, sensible that its existence depended on unanimity, had preserved the most uninterrupted

errupted harmony, which the placid temper and accommodating disposition of Kléber were well calculated to insure; no murmur, no cry of cabal, was heard, except from the man who was destined to be his successor, and under him a new order of things seems to have arisen. He affected rather the profound politician than the active general, issued pompous and declamatory general orders; affected great attention to details, yet left the most important regulations in a state of neglect; counteracted the prudent measures of his predecessor, altered the mode of collecting taxes, and laid the foundation of religious feuds, by shewing an unusual preference to the mode of faith to which he had become a renegade convert. Even these malversations were of small moment compared with his efforts to tarnish the fame of Kléber, who was venerated by the whole army; to maintain a distance between himself and the subordinate generals by spreading reports injurious to their fame, and to introduce into the army the factious distinguishing terms of colonist and anti-colonist. Such a system revived peculations, oppressions, and injuries calculated to renew the hostility of the natives whenever opportunity should present a prospect of success, exhausted the slender resources of the army, prevented the accumulation of supplies in case of an attack, diminished the spirit of the troops, and produced at length
vigorous

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CHAP. vigorous and even angry remonstrances from the
 XXXII. field officers*.

1800.

Such was the situation of the French in Egypt when a formidable expedition, directed and animated by Great Britain, was destined to act against them. The force which had been employed in the Mediterranean and formed the *corps élit* of the British army, aided by the discomfited bands of the grand-vizier and a body of Sepoys and British troops from India, were selected to achieve the expulsion of the republicans from their ill-acquired territory. The troops under sir Ralph Abercromby were unusually dispirited by a long continuance at sea, during the most tempestuous season ever remembered; by their failure in several attempts, particularly that against Cadiz; and by the uncertainty in which they had so long been kept in what direction their active services would be employed. Yet, when the order arrived announcing their next destination, joy and alacrity generally prevailed; health was restored by short

* This representation of the conduct of Menou is derived entirely from the State of Egypt after the Battle of Heliopolis, by general Reynier, who, it is to be recollected, was one of the remonstrants against Menou, and appears to have viewed his elevation with envy and his general conduct with malevolence. In this part of his narrative general Reynier cannot be confronted, and must therefore be considered as a competent witness; in other parts, it is easy to shew that he is not a very rigid votary of truth.

residences.

residences on shore, and regiments who were not obliged to extend their services so far, offered themselves as volunteers. The bay of Marmorice was fixed for the general rendezvous, and at the moment of his arrival lord Keith captured some polacres from Alexandria, among the passengers in which was the noted Tallien*; but the French, during the stay of the British fleet at Marmorice, succeeded in throwing into Egypt important succours of men and ammunition, dispatched in l'Egyptienne, La Justice, La Régénérée, and the Lodi.

The British troops at Marmorice amounted to fifteen thousand three hundred and thirty, including nine hundred and ninety-nine sick, five hundred Maltese, and various descriptions of persons attached to an army; so that the effective force could not be computed at more than twelve thousand. The French, on a moderate calculation, amounted to twenty-one thousand able men, and had the additional advantage of possessing the ground which was to be the scene of contention, with strong forts, good cavalry, an ample and well-supplied artillery, and a perfect knowledge of the place; in all which the English were lamentably defective. They had no sufficient artillery; the Turks had supplied them, to remount their cavalry, with the very worst of horses; they had no

* He was brought prisoner to England, and soon allowed to go and meet contempt and detestation on his native shore.

CHAP. XXXII. person amongst them experimentally acquainted with
 1801. the coast, and the charts with which they were
 furnished were ridiculously incorrect. Some of the
 persons captured had given true accounts of the
 French force, but were not believed; the Indian army
 was not expected to arrive for some months; and the
 grand-vizier, nominally the leader of thirty-five
 thousand men, but not having actually under his
 command more than ten thousand, was posted near
 Jassa, and determined not to advance with his tu-
 multuary and undisciplined force till the success of
 the English opened to his view some encouraging
 hopes. Notwithstanding these circumstances,
 20th Feb. and the assurance that they could not act
 effectually till the vernal equinox was past, the British
 troops embarked on board a hundred and seventy-five
 sail of transports, in perfect order, but in the highest
 spirits, shouting as from a conviction of assured
 triumph, and leaving among the Turks with whom
 they had sojourned the novel sentiment of respect
 and even regard for Christians.

The fleet reached the coast of Egypt, and,
 2d March. after waiting several days for favourable
 weather, and making some experiments on the shore,
 a landing was attempted. The first division
 8th. of the army, consisting of five thousand five
 hundred men, under major-general Coote, assembled
 in the boats at two o'clock in the morning, an ad-
 ditional number being placed in ships close to the
 shore,

shore, to afford support after the first disembarkation was effected. From the extent of their anchorage at the place of rendezvous, the assembling and arrangement of the boats could not take place till nine o'clock; and the French, thus fully prepared, had posted two thousand five hundred men, under general Friant, on the top of the sand-hills, forming the concave arch of a circle on the front of about a mile, in the centre of which rose an height almost perpendicular, and apparently inaccessible. The boats protected by cutters, bomb and gun vessels, rowed rapidly towards the shore; while the republicans, from their well-chosen station, where they had planted twelve pieces of artillery, and from the castle of Aboukir, poured a discharge of shot and shells and a shower of grape and musketry, which seemed to plough the surface of the water, and render destruction inevitable. The troops, placed fifty in each boat, were pent up close and unable to move, exposed to this destructive fire without returning a shot. Still the boats pressed forward; the reserve leaped on shore, forming as they advanced. The French met and opposed them even at the water's edge, but they advanced shouting, as if victory was certainly within their grasp. Without firing a shot, they rushed up the heights, charged with the bayonet two battalions, carried two mole hills in the rear which commanded the plain to the left, and took three pieces of cannon. The remaining troops effected a landing with equal courage and success;

and

CHAP. and, after a struggle of twenty minutes' duration, the
 XXXII. republicans gave way in every direction; and a body
 1801. of seamen under sir Sidney Smith secured possession
 of the hills by dragging up several field pieces. Sir
 Ralph Abercromby himself went on shore in the
 evening, and expressed the gratitude and admiration
 due to his troops for so gallant an exploit, which, from
 a consideration of the strength of their opponents
 and the nature of the position, military men must
 have pronounced almost impossible. The loss of the
 French is computed at about four hundred killed,
 wounded, and prisoners; that of the English at six
 hundred and fifty-two, exclusive of seamen.

Several days were passed in improving the situation
 of the troops, landing ammunition and stores, and
 digging for water, which was found in sufficient quan-
 tities to prevent fear of want. The lake of Aboukir,
 or Maadie, which the French had neglected to secure,
 was a most important resource; facilitating the trans-
 port of necessaries, and enabling the British troops to
 procure those supplies which their total want of beasts
 of burthen would otherwise have prevented them
 from obtaining. When their preparations
 12th. were completed, the English army moved
 towards Alexandria, opposed by the French, but not
 with so much vigour as to make the loss of the
 assailants bear any proportion to the advantages they
 gained. They had two men killed, a lieutenant and
 four privates wounded.

On

On the ensuing day, the British army advanced to attack the French on the heights before Alexandria. The republicans, having received reinforcements, commanded about seven thousand men; their opponents had fourteen thousand, but the superiority of numbers was counterbalanced by the want of artillery and cavalry: the French had upwards of six hundred horse, well trained and mounted; the English had only two hundred and fifty, and those in so wretched a condition, that they were hardly able to act. The republicans brought into the field forty pieces of cannon, most of them curriple guns; while the British had only a few cannon, slowly and laboriously drawn through the sand by men. Under these comparative disadvantages, besides the difficulty of forcing a strong and well-chosen position, the British troops made their way, notwithstanding frequent attacks of cavalry which they could not meet, but were obliged patiently to await, and through a most destructive and incessant fire of artillery and musketry. They had gained the first chain of hills and advanced towards the second, when it became apparent that, from the state of the forts and the unexpected strength of the position, further progress would be attended with great difficulty and destruction. The soldiers were halted while sir Ralph Abercromby deliberated on the propriety of advancing, and during this period the fire of the French was tremendous. Aim was unnecessary;

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CHAP. they had only to load and fire ; their bullets plunged
 XXXII. into the lines, and swept away great numbers : but
 1801. although this dreadful scene continued several hours,
 the brave soldiery never murmured, nor expressed
 any impatience except what arose from an ardent wish
 to be led to the attack. This, however, it was finally
 judged necessary to decline ; and the British com-
 mander was obliged to be content with the strong
 position he had acquired. The loss on this day was
 thirteen hundred men killed and wounded, and that
 of the French is computed at seven hundred ; the
 English took four pieces of cannon and a howitzer,
 with a large quantity of ammunition. The firmness
 of the British troops is highly extolled ; their move-
 ments were executed with the same steadiness and
 accuracy as if at a review in their native plains.

If the English army gained a good position by this
 deadly encounter, they were opposed by the French
 in one still more strong. Their situation began, how-
 ever, to improve ; the republicans had learned to ap-
 preciate and respect their valour ; a few horses were
 sent by the grand-signior from Constantinople ; works
 were thrown up ; heavy guns, large quantities of am-
 munition, and some tents, were landed at the depôts ;
 the Arabs, in defiance of a barbarous edict of the
 French punishing such delinquency with death, sup-
 plied the camp with provisions ; and five
 19th March. hundred Turks, part of six thousand sent
 by the capitan pacha, joined the army. A vigorous
 though

though unsuccessful skirmish took place near the village of Bedah, in which colonel Archdall lost an arm; and the castle of Aboukir, after being nearly converted into a heap of ruins, was given up to the English, who acquired twelve fine pieces of brass artillery, and made the garrison, a hundred and ninety in number, prisoners of war.

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During these transactions, general Menou, with a considerable reinforcement, set out from Cairo; and his approach to Alexandria was announced by the failure of the market from which the English were supplied, owing to the strictness with which his orders were executed for killing the Arabs engaged in that traffic. All this severity could not, however, prevent one of those people from disclosing to the British commander the intention of the French general to surprise the camp. Although sir Sidney Smith vouched for the truth of this intelligence and the fidelity of the reporter, it was so obviously repugnant to the interest of the republicans to make the attempt that the assertion obtained no credit.

20th.

The discipline established by sir Ralph Abercromby was, however, not less effectual in this crisis than any preparation which he could have made in consequence of the information he had disregarded. The troops were as usual under arms half an hour before day-break, and at half past three o'clock in the morning firing of musketry and cannon was heard on the left. The nature of this dis-

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charge convinced the generals that it was only a feint, and their attention was directed towards the right, when, after a short interval of suspense, they heard a loud shouting, which was succeeded by a roar of musketry and a general onset. The number of French employed on this service was, according to their own account, eight thousand three hundred and thirty infantry and thirteen hundred and eighty cavalry, though the English dispatch states it to have been near twelve thousand. Covered by the uneven surface of the ground, they advanced unperceived as far as the videttes, whom they drove in, with the returning picquets of infantry, to the main body; they were, however, received with warm and well-directed discharges of musketry, which compelled them to retire. Fresh numbers coming up, the conflict was maintained with great obstinacy; and the twenty-eighth and fifty-eighth regiments, at one time surrounded, presented the extraordinary spectacle of troops fighting at the same time in their front, flanks, and rear. The forty-second advanced to their relief; when Menou, perceiving his first hopes frustrated, endeavoured to turn the fortune of the day by a desperate charge of cavalry. This order appeared strange and unmilitary from the nature of the position, which was broken in such a manner as to check the impetuosity and prevent the regular action of horse; and general Roize waited for orders given a third time in the most peremptory terms before he would execute it.

it. Compelled at length, by positive command from his superior officer, he dashed into the British lines; his horses were entangled in the cords which fastened the tents, and for the most part killed*, and many of the riders were obliged to seek safety on foot. To support this assault, some regiments of foot were ordered to the same spot, and, fighting with the desperate fury of men certain of being sacrificed, they for a time broke the forty-second, the individuals of which maintained severally a combat more dangerous and more glorious than their united exertions could have been. From this perilous situation they were extricated by the Minorca regiment, which advanced seasonably to their relief. General Roize fell a victim to his obedience; and a standard belonging to the French regiment proudly termed *invincible*, and inscribed with honorary testimonials of victories in Italy, fell into the hands of the English†. The

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* A circumstance as fortunate as it was unexpected contributed also very materially to the overthrow of the French cavalry. The ground in the rear of the 42d was full of holes, between three and four feet deep. These excavations had been made by the 28th regiment, as conveniencies to sleep in, previous to the landing of the camp equipage. The cavalry charging over these was completely broken and routed.

† It has been a subject of some dispute whether a serjeant of the 42d, named Sinclair, or a private in the Minorca or Queen's German regiment, named Antoine Lutz, was entitled to the honour of having secured this trophy. It seems, from the concurrence of general testimonies, that Sinclair had first taken it, but that it was recovered by the French and recaptured by Lutz, who received the acknowledgments and rewards due to his bravery.

greater

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greater part of the troops employed on this desperate assault were destroyed ; but the triumph of the British was damped when it was known that their valiant and beloved leader had received a wound, which afterwards proved mortal. On the first alarm of the irruption on the right, sir Ralph Abercromby, proceeding to the spot, dispatched his aids-de-camp in different directions. While he was left alone, some French cavalry reached the place, and he was thrown from his horse. One of the party rode at him, endeavouring to cut him down ; but the brave veteran, seizing the uplifted sword, wrested it from his hand *, at the very moment when a foldier of the forty-second came up and put an end to the assailant with his bayonet. The general was wounded in the thigh and received a contusion on his breast, but refused to remove from the field till the end of the conflict.

The French made other attacks on the right, but were constantly repulsed ; nor were they more fortunate on the left and in the centre. The ammunition of both parties was, at one time, exhausted ; and so great their inveteracy that they maintained a conflict by throwing large stones, with one of which an English serjeant was killed. Menou, at length, finding that he could no longer hope for success,

* The weapon thus honourably acquired, and at such a critical moment, was given to sir Sidney Smith, whose own sword was broken. This high-spirited officer, qualified by his sensibility no less than valour to merit and grace the gift, reserves it as a trophy to adorn his monument.

ordered

ordered a retreat at ten o'clock in the morning, after a fight of near seven hours' duration. The loss of the French is calculated at four thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners; and this number would have been greatly augmented, but, for want of ammunition*, the English could not annoy them to the utmost in their retreat. The British army had to lament the loss of six officers and two hundred and twenty-three men killed, sixty officers and eleven hundred and ninety men wounded, and three officers and twenty-nine men missing. The French generals Lanusse, Roize, and Beaudot, were slain; Generals Destin, Silly, Eppler, and several other officers of distinction, wounded. In the English army, besides the brave Abercromby, generals Moore, Hope, Oakes, and Lawson, and sir Sidney Smith, were wounded. The day was, on the whole, one of the most glorious which ever occurred to reflect honour on the British arms: the number of troops present did not amount to ten thousand, including three hundred cavalry; and half this force resisted the concentrated attack of the French on the right (for the left was never engaged, except in consequence of the feint), repulsed and defeated them. After the battle, sir Ralph Abercromby was conveyed in a litter on board lord Keith's ship; where, after enduring excruciating

* For this lamentable deficiency no blame attaches to the service: it arose entirely from the want of cattle to convey it from the magazines.

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 28th. tortures for seven days, without complaint or groan, he expired, regretting only his separation from his brave companions, and exulting to the last in their conspicuous and illustrious display of bravery.

Menou had hoped, by making his attack, to drive the English army into the sea or the lake Maadie, and thus terminate the campaign by one glorious exertion ; but although his failure, with the attendant circumstances, afforded great exultation to the English, the fate of Egypt was not decided in their favour : they had not gained any ground ; their opponents still retained their position with an army far more numerous than that of the victors. As the early fruits of conquest, however, they had the pleasure of perceiving the natives taking a warm and decided interest in their cause ; their camp was again well

25th. supplied with provisions ; and, in a few days after the battle, the six thousand men expected with the capitan pacha arrived,

Two days after the battle of Aboukir, sir Sidney Smith, by authority from the naval and military commanders in chief, proposed to general Friant, who commanded at Alexandria, the evacuation of Egypt, and the return of the troops to France without being considered as prisoners of war ; but that their shipping, artillery, and stores, should be delivered to the English. This proposition was refused by the general, with expressions of surprise that an offer so dis-

respectful

respectful to the army of the East and to himself should be made, and with assurances that circumstances by no means warranted the proposal, but the army would defend Egypt to the last.

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At the same period, captain Beavor of the navy, with some seamen and marines, took the caravanfery which the French had established as a post commanding the entrance into lake Edko. As general Hutchinson, the successor of Abercromby, was not sufficiently strong to attack Alexandria, he improved this advantage by detaching a small portion of ^{2d April.} the British force, and four thousand Turks under the command of colonel Spencer, against Rosetta. After a painful march through the desert, the united troops, slightly opposed by the French, who were eight hundred in number, took the place, blockaded fort St. Julien, and advanced with the main body to El Hamed.

On the news of this unexpected success, ^{13th.} for Rosetta might have made a long defence, general Hutchinson, apprised of the fears of the French by a letter from Menou found in the pocket of general Roize, cut the canal of Alexandria, the pride and peculiar care of Egypt, consolidated by the lapse of ages, and let the water of the sea into the lake Mariotis. This measure threatened the destruction of Alexandria, but it strengthened the left of the British army; and general Hutchinson gave the order for destroying this venerable relic of antiquity with

CHAP. with no less reluctance than the soldiers felt joy in
 XXXII. executing it.

1801. In consequence of this inundation, a great portion
 of the forces was sent to support colonel Spencer, who
 still remained at El Hamed; the attack of
 16th. the castle of St. Julien was regularly com-
 menced, and the capitan pacha, having erected a bat-
 tery on the Delta, afforded considerable assistance.

19th. After making as good a defence as the nature
 of their position would allow, the garrison,
 consisting of two hundred and sixty men, yielded at
 discretion, reserving, however, their private pro-
 perty. The surrender of this castle secured the
 command of the Nile; but the capitulation having
 been made without the privity of the capitan pacha,
 whose troops were eager to storm, a temporary cool-
 ness arose between him and the British commander.

26th. The easy acquisition of Rosetta and St. Ju-
 lien inspiring sanguine hopes, general Hutch-
 inson repaired to the main body of troops at El
 Hamed, leaving general Coote with an inadequate
 force to maintain the position before Alexandria. The
 next effort of the army was to be directed against El
 Aft, where the French were strongly entrenched; and
 the day for advancing was fixed, when the capitan
 pacha, from motives of jealousy and resentment at
 that honourable candour which occasioned the defeat
 of the grand-vizier at Heliopolis, insisted that sir Sid-
 ney Smith should not act with the army; an order
 with

with which general Hutchinson was obliged to comply, and the hero of Acre retired on board his ship. So important a sacrifice would not have been made but under the most imperious circumstances; the army of the grand-vizier had begun to move, having taken possession of Salahieh and Balbeis; and Murad Bey, recovering from the terror occasioned by the domineering influence of the French, was preparing to cooperate with the British forces, when his projects were impeded by the stroke of death.

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Four thousand four hundred and twelve English troops and four thousand Turks proceeded towards El Aft, which the French, after some slight skirmishing, abandoned; few were killed, but those who fell were beheaded by the Turks. The British general remonstrated against this act of inhumanity, and even engaged the capitan pacha in the cause; but the soldiery answered by indignant exclamations of "Jaffa! Jaffa!"

At El Aft the British commander discovered, by a paper left through negligence, that the French army which retreated from that place did not exceed four thousand men, and that the plague was making dreadful ravages at Cairo. Availing himself of the intelligence thus obtained, general Hutchinson moved forward towards the French, who were posted at Rahmanieh; and after an obstinate skirmish, in which the valour and conduct of the English procured rapturous applauses from the
Turks,

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Turks, compelled the republicans hastily to evacuate the entrenched camp and surrender the village, with two hundred prisoners and a considerable quantity of provisions and artillery. The victors also
10th. obtained possession of eighty djerms; but the French, while offering to capitulate, had ungenerously sunk all the gun-boats, overturned the artillery on the batteries into the river, destroyed the ammunition; and done all the mischief possible; conduct which highly exasperated the capitan pacha, and almost made the British commander regret the favourable terms he had been induced to concede.

As the situation of the republicans grew more embarrassed, the remonstrances of the subordinate generals became more warm; and the irritation
6th. of Menou at length increased to such a degree, that he put generals Reynier and Damas, Daure principal commissary of the army, and Boyer adjutant commandant, under arrest, and sent them on board the Lodi and the Union to be conveyed to France. The former vessel carrying Reynier was chased by British vessels, but effected its escape; the latter, with the three other captives on board, was taken, and, among other spoils, six thousand pounds sterling, the property of general Kléber.

Twenty store-ships and victuallers arriving
10th. at Aboukir with a reinforcement of a thousand and fifty-six men, increased the spirits and confidence of the army; several detached bodies of French
men

men sent out on different services were captured, particularly two hundred of the dromedary corps, sixty-nine artillery men, three hundred and thirty infantry, with one piece of cannon, a stand of colours, and a train of four hundred and sixty camels. The active hatred of the Arabs rendered the situation of the French additionally dangerous; no small parties could be detached on any service: and since general Hutchinson's departure from El Hamed, he had in different expeditions taken nearly a thousand men, with no greater loss than that of four men killed and eighteen wounded. To augment the distress of the French, a squadron which had sailed under the command of rear-admiral Gantheaume was prevented by the vigilance of the British fleet from landing an intended reinforcement, and obliged to return to France, after taking the *Swiftsure* of seventy-four guns; but five transports fell into the hands of the English, laden, not with military or naval stores, but with philosophical apparatus for the *savans*, and carrying as passengers, not a reinforcement of soldiers, but a troop of comedians. To these disappointments and mortifications the republicans had to add the unexpected circumstance of the defeat of eight thousand of their troops under general Beliard, who had marched from Cairo for the purpose of attacking the grand-vizier at El Hanka. The victory was not, in a military view, of great moment; as the French retreated in

17th. CHAP.
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1801.

16th.

good

CHAP. good order, though they left three hundred killed and
 XXXII. wounded on the field : but it repressed their sanguine
 1801. hopes of seeing another Heliopolis, and taught the
 Turks confidence, by proving that their adversaries,
 though generally successful, were not invincible.

After his victory, the grand-vizier pushed on to
 Heliopolis, where every recollection rendered inef-
 timably precious the title of conqueror with which
 he was greeted. He was reinforced by a considerable

body of English ; and received a visit from
 23d to 29th. general Hutchinson, whom he entertained

with distinguished ceremony and all the pomp of
 Turkish state. His army was increased to thirty thou-
 sand men, by the junction of Arabs and every class
 of the inhabitants of Egypt ; but their miserable ap-
 pearance, filth, and want of discipline, rendered them
 an unseemly and even loathsome sight. At this in-
 terview, however, the grand-vizier certified in writ-
 ing, that unless the siege of Cairo was undertaken he
 had every reason to fear that his army, which had col-
 lected chiefly in the hope of plunder, would disband ;
 and general Hutchinson, yielding to his remonstrance,
 instructed him to make movements exactly parallel to

his own. The city was capable of a good
 4th to 23d June. defence, but no reasonable hope could be en-
 tertained of ultimate triumph ; and therefore, after a
 siege of twenty days, distinguished by no military oper-
 ation worth recounting, a conference was opened,
 and Cairo surrendered. The French were to march

to Rosetta with their arms, baggage, and artillery, and thence to Aboukir, to be conveyed, at the expense of the allied powers, to their own country. The total number of the garrison, including seven hundred and sixty native troops, was thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-four.

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General Hutchinson was strengthened by the arrival of seven thousand four hundred and fifty-six men from India, under general Baird ; and general Coote, who still maintained his position before Alexandria, was reinforced by a strong detachment from England, and by the regiments of Watteville and the Chasseurs Britanniques, the residue of the brave army of Condé, amounting to about eighteen hundred men. Nothing worthy of record had occurred in this quarter since the departure of general Hutchinson, except the burning of the *Iphigenie*, a French frigate, in the road of Aboukir, and the refusal of lord Keith to permit the departure of the *savans* and their suites for France. The motive of this prohibition was to prevent the protraction of the siege which would be occasioned by the saving of subsistence for fifty persons : in this he followed the example of Menou himself, who for the same reason refused to take into the city the company of comedians sent from France and taken by lord Keith.

The intelligence of the surrender of Cairo occasioned great regret and surprize ; general Menou was incensed

CHAP. incensed against Beliard, whose duty it was, in his
XXXII, opinion, to have resisted to the last extremity, and, by

1801. dividing the British force, to have prevented their
combining to act against Alexandria. The French
being embarked according to the terms of capitula-

tion, the British troops from Cairo arrived
3d Aug. before Alexandria; and being joined by
general Hutchinson, commenced serious operations.

7th. An attempt was made to send in M. Estève,
the French paymaster-general from Cairo, as
a flag of truce; but to such an excess were the su-

spicions of Menou carried, that he was not
16th. allowed to enter. The siege was formed by
general Coote on the western side, who, taking the
command of a large body of troops, embarked them
on the inundation; and having effected a landing
near the desired spot, took his position along a ridge of
steep quarries, his right to the inundation, and his left
to a sandy plain which extended to the sea. General
Hutchinson, to make a diversion in his favour, com-
menced a general attack to the eastward, which pro-

duced the desired effect. After great prepa-
21st. ratory labours, general Coote opened a bat-
tery against fort Marabou, destroyed the signal tower,
and obliged the garrison, consisting of a hundred
and ninety-five men, to surrender prisoners of war.

Animated by this success, and seven sloop
22d. of war, English and Turkish, having entered

the

the harbour, general Coote took a position close under the works of the town, near the *redoute des bains*. CHAP. XXXII.

The French made some opposition, but were compelled to retreat with the loss of many lives and seven pieces of ordnance. 1801.

The remaining operations were carried on with great spirit and vigour till the first parallel on the west side of Alexandria was nearly completed, when thirty pieces of heavy artillery would have been brought to play upon the town. At this juncture Menou obtained a cessation of hostilities, and commenced a negotiation which terminated in a surrender. 26th.

The garrison, amounting to eleven thousand five hundred, were allowed to preserve all their private property and papers, and to be embarked in ten days for France with their arms and baggage and ten pieces of cannon. They were to receive all the honours of war, and not be considered as prisoners, but conveyed to a French port in the Mediterranean. Their ships of every kind in the harbour were delivered to the captors. The members of the Institute were allowed to carry away their instruments of art and science brought from France; but all manuscripts, statues, and other collections made for the republic, were to be considered as public property and given up. Such were the principal conditions of the surrender of Alexandria: the ships of war, six in number, were divided be- 30th.

tween

CHAP. XXXII. }
 1801. } between the English and the Turks, and all the other spoils were similarly shared; the moiety which fell to the British being subsequently subdivided between the army and navy *.

The expulsion of the French from Egypt, an event so glorious to the British arms, was in fact the termination of the contest between the two countries. Negotiations for peace had long been maintained, and the French government being necessarily first apprised of the events which had taken place, hastened to conclude a preliminary treaty. This was, after many delays, followed by a definitive compact, in virtue of which Great Britain restored to the republic and her allies all conquests made during the war, except the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon. Many other articles composed this treaty, particularly for regulating the manner in which Malta was to be restored and guaranteed to the order †.

AT this period, not without some appearance of abruptness, the present narrative is terminated. To enter into a series of reflections on the stupendous events which have been feebly delineated would re-

* From sir Robert Wilson, Walsb, Wittman, Reynier, and the State Papers.

† See these treaties in all the collections.

quire a recapitulation too extensive to produce the desired effect. An history so eventful affords ground for meditation far too expanded to be comprised in the limits of apophthegmatical axioms, and every separate event has given rise to volumes of reflections far more bulky than those which here inclose the narration. In declining to discuss the transactions which attended and immediately followed the signature of the preliminary treaty, it will be perceived that the author has endeavoured to keep the present history entirely free from an appearance of anticipating those events which at a future day will doubtless be found sufficiently interesting to merit the attention of the reader and the labour of the historian.

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XXXII.
1802.

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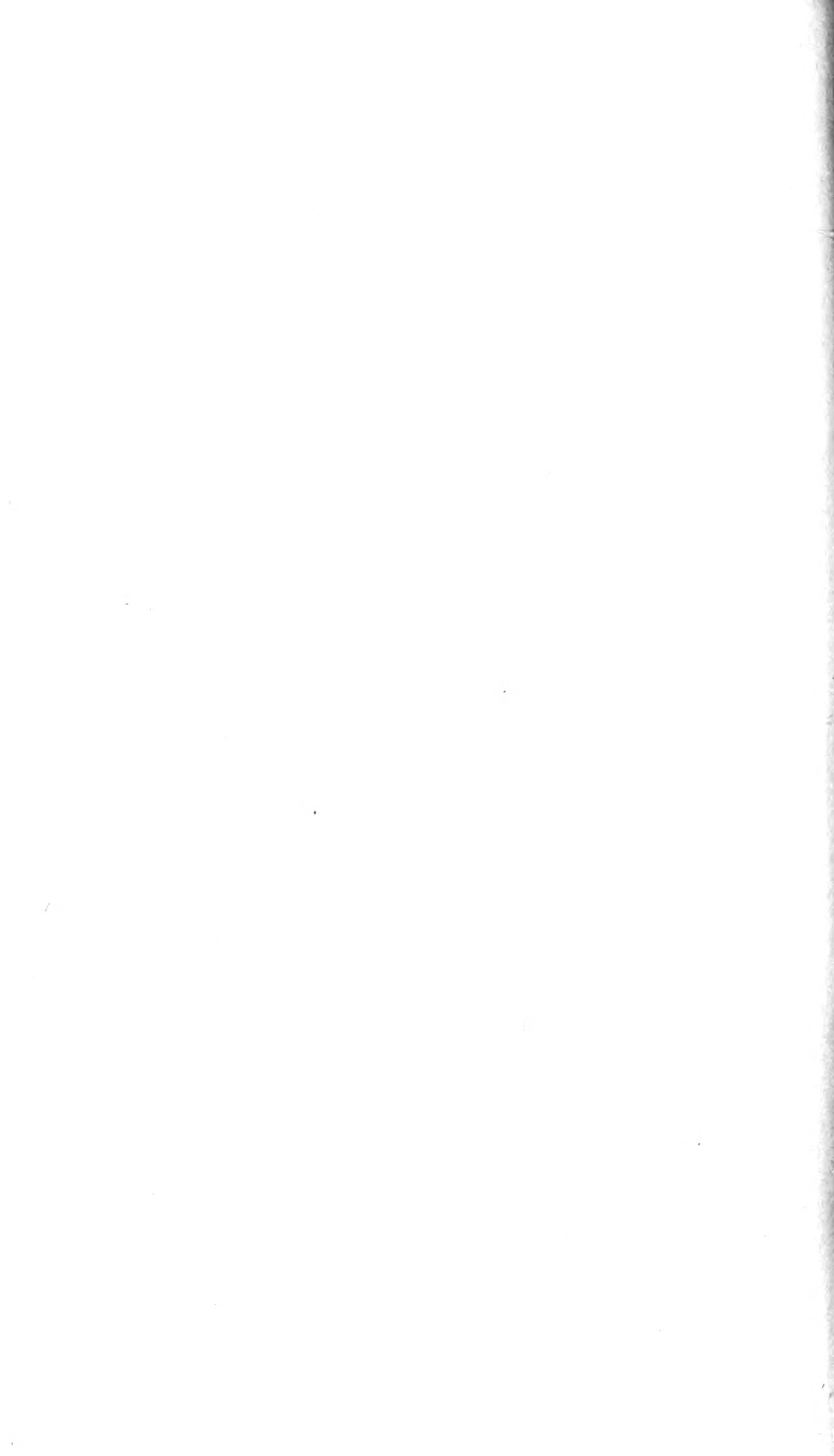
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